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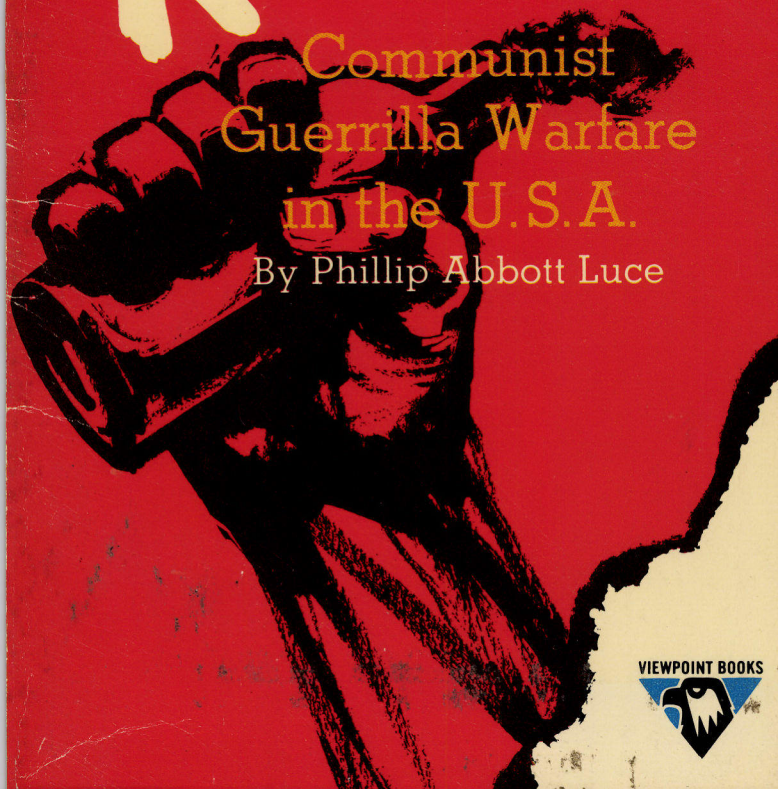
Road to Revolution:

Communist Guerrilla Warfare in the U.S.A.

By Phillip Abbott Luce



VIEWPOINT BOOKS

ROAD TO REVOLUTION:

Communist Guerrilla Warfare in the U.S.A.

by

PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE

Viewpoint Books
P.O. Box 9622
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Phillip Abbott Luce was born in Lancaster, Ohio, in 1938. He was educated at Mississippi State University and has a Master's degree in Political Science from Ohio State University. He was a former leader of the "New Left"; organizer of two "student" trips to Cuba in 1963 and 1964; an officer of the Progressive Labor Movement and editor of its monthly magazine, *Progressive Labor,* until his defection in January, 1965. John Chamberlain has called him the "Whittaker Chambers of his generation."

Like others, Mr. Luce was able for a long period to cherish humane and naive illusions about Communism, believing that its critics and enemies "suffered from biased and slanderous concepts of the purity of the movement." Explaining this early naivety, Mr. Luce says: "There was no doubt in my mind that Communism in practice was totally different from the picture portrayed by its most ardent enemies."

When his native independence was touched by the cold dictates of Party decisions and discipline, Mr. Luce began to see the hypocrisy of the adjustable Communist "image." This disclosure he describes thus:

"The leaders became so paranoid over the issue of their public 'image' that they told members to shave their moustaches, wear coats and ties, forget the cowboy boots, be careful with whom they are

seen, stay away from people who take dope, date only certain girls, attend classes regularly, and watch their language in public. Strange concepts, indeed, for Communists who at times attempted to pose as libertines."

Mr. Luce's act of separation from the world of Communism in 1965 was poignant and wrenching, as it has been for many idealists who found their illusions shattered by the brutality of Marxism's practical side. His decision to break with it was, as he puts it, "The most difficult one of my life," and he traces his disillusionment to a particular moment. This instant of decision came when he realized that he and his friends had to discard at once whatever residual concepts of humanity they had left, and become, in his words, "Involved in a series of plans in which the participants had no idea of the consequences. . . . I left when it became obvious that the individual lives of the members of Progressive Labor, let alone society, meant less than an abstract Communist catechism as envisioned by the 'gurus' of the movement."

No Communist leaves the ranks without facing a barrage of invective. Marxist scorn is a spectacle of loquacious madness. No holds are barred. Here is how Mr. Luce describes the Communist campaign to vilify him:

"The fact that I chose not only to break with Communism, but to expose its operations to the public, has driven my former compatriots into turmoil. The attacks on me in *Progressive Labor* propaganda have now passed the point of sanity, and it seems apparent that the more I expose their activities, the more insane their antics will become. At present I seem to rank somewhere near Presi-

dent Lyndon B. Johnson and J. Edgar Hoover as their most maligned enemy."

Retrospection often brings confirmation of a right decision. Mr. Luce views his past affiliation with Communists through an obviously regenerate outlook. "I am constantly amazed," he confesses, "at the fact that at one time I was a close associate of people capable of such deceitful behavior."

Mr. Luce has served as a consultant to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He is the author of *The New Left,* and numerous articles that have appeared in *The Saturday Evening Post, Reader's Digest, National Review, Human Events, Frontier* and *Rally.* Recently he edited the revised edition of *The 'New' Red China Lobby,* published by Constructive Action, Inc.

As the former member of a hard-core Communist organization, Mr. Luce's words have a vital and prophetic significance to all Americans.

—TED LOEFFLER

TABLE OF CONTENTS

About the Author 3
Introduction 9
Preface 13

PART I: THE PLAN
1. Background to Insurrection 17
2. The Documentation 24
3. The Guerrilla Plan 34

PART II: THE MEANS TO THE END
1. Propaganda Methods 41
2. The Black Muslims 53
3. SNCC 60
4. CORE 65
5. RAM 69
6. Other Black Nationalists 83

PART III: VIOLENCE IN ACTION
1. SNCC Rehearses 93
2. The Story of a Riot 101
3. More Violence 114
4. The Counter Plan 131

APPENDIX 141
INDEX 167

INTRODUCTION

New York City's Central Park offers an excellent meeting place for people who do not want their conversations overheard. In June of 1964, just one month before the Harlem riots shocked the American people into the realization that a racial civil war was possible in this country, five of us met in a secluded area of the park to discuss the possibility of creating a guerrilla operation in the Negro ghettos of this country. We were all Communists, members of the pro-Chinese Communist Progressive Labor Movement (now Party), and four of us had been to Cuba the summer before. We were busily organizing another trip to the land of Fidel Castro when the leader of Progressive Labor, Milt Rosen, told us to meet him in the park. We were there at the appointed time.

Gathered on a grassy knoll, Rosen told us that we were to begin seriously to consider going underground and to start a guerrilla operation similar to that used in Cuba by the Communists to destroy the government. According to Rosen, the leadership of the Progressive Labor Movement had been divided into groups of four and each of these groups would operate independently of the others. This technique, the same as that used by the guerrillas in Algeria, would insure maximum secrecy and avoid police surveillance. We would all go "underground" at a specified signal and would then operate out of the various ghettos of the city

in an attempt to organize a guerrilla warfare operation.

The group to which I was assigned would attempt to bring out a newspaper and to print leaflets and inflammatory propaganda against the government and the police. Other groups had different responsibilities, but all of us were to be engaged in full time activity to bring about the ghetto uprisings. The key to the plan was the reaction of the police and the government. Our orders were not to move until the authorities began a "crack-down" on the Progressive Labor organization. At that point we were to disappear and only have direct contacts with the other individuals in our small cadre of four. Later, we were all briefed on individual responsibilities and each was armed with a pistol and told that it was up to us how we used our weapons. We were also told that the organization had already laid the groundwork for a guerrilla operation in the ghettos and that trouble might be brewing in the near future.

The government did not crack down on Progressive Labor and so this initial underground operation was not put into effect. The next month, however, Harlem erupted into a week of bloody riots. Progressive Labor was in the center of these riots and did everything possible to expand and extend the riot conditions. All of us, as good Communists, were responsible for some work in the riots and each of us longed for the possibility that Harlem would herald the beginning of a nationwide guerrilla war.

My own personal experiences in Progressive Labor as a member of the National Committee and as editor of the organization's monthly magazine, *Progressive Labor,* taught me that the Communists

are actively working to foment a racial war in this country. No matter what sect or faction they represent, the Communists are unanimously confident that the Negro ghettos of our nation hold the answer to their dreams of revolution and destruction of our democratic heritage. The documentation, the means employed, and the chain of events to the time these lines are written, all clearly show that this is a major project of the Communist Parties in the United States.

It is vital to remember, however, that all ghetto problems and riots are not the work of the Communists. It is naive to assume that the Communists are the only problem facing the Negro in the ghetto. Social and economic problems, coupled with less tangible frustrations, often contribute to the cause of riots. Just as it would be careless to deny the role of Communists in our racial unrest, so it would be equally erroneous to credit them with sparking all our racial problems.

The record shows that the Communists will attempt to ignite riots; try to utilize an existing riot to spread violence; use a riot situation to propagandize the Negro people; and promote riots in the hope of increasing tensions between the races. This book shows how the Communists are at work in the Negro ghettos fomenting strife and bloodshed, but it is not meant to imply that every manifestation of racial unrest is Communist inspired.

PREFACE

"The revolution will strike by night and spare none. Mass riots will occur in the day with the Afro-Americans blocking traffic, burning buildings, etc. Thousands of Afro-Americans will be in the street fighting; for they will know that this is it. . . . MAX STANFORD, U.S. leader, RAM

(See Part II, Chapter 5)

The Communists are counting on the premise that most Americans will discount the possibility of a guerrilla war in their country. The notion of a guerrilla war in the United States is so outrageous and improbable to Americans that they would receive it as the product of a deranged mind. The Communists are fully aware of this and are counting heavily on the fact that most of our citizens will be mentally, as well as physically, unprepared. The shock effect of the initial onslaught will work in favor of the guerrillas. No matter how improbable a successful guerrilla war may seem, it is necessary for the American people to acquaint themselves with the probability, lest we find ourselves unprepared once the "war" begins.

PART ONE

THE PLAN

Chapter One

BACKGROUND TO INSURRECTION

The United States of America is unique in that it has been able to assimilate literally millions of people of various nationalities and races into one cohesive political unit. A history of our nation is really a history of the foreign groups that have made this country the world's greatest republic. And while each of the various nationalities and races has initially been isolated from the country as a whole, because of language and cultural characteristics, all of them have ultimately been assimilated into the larger community.

The American Negro is one of the few nationalities and races to remain "ghettoized," i.e., generally located in specific neighborhoods or sections of our large cities. The Chinese, the Puerto Ricans, the Japanese are also "ghettoized," but the Negro is the largest racial group living apart from other members of the community. Such "pockets" have been and are ripe for violence. For whatever reasons, there are, in these areas, extreme unemployment, lack of education, poor housing, high crime, over-crowding, lack of sanitation and obvious dissatisfaction with life.

The Negro ghettos represent the major area of concentration for the black revolutionaries and Communists in the United States. The condi-

tions that have formed and fostered ghettos have made them the prime targets of the Communists. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover reported on October 19, 1966, that while most legitimate civil rights groups have kept clear of Communist influence, "exploitation of racial unrest" remains "a major program" of the Communists.

American Communists attempt to exploit racial unrest and create anarchy in our cities. Just as the Communists have used riots in Venezuela, Mexico, France, India and other countries to try to bring about the downfall of the government, so here in the United States they will utilize any racial violence for their own purposes. The recent outcropping of racial riots plays into the hands of the Communists. Not only have these riots seriously hurt the cause of the struggle for civil rights, they have also been utilized by the Communists in two important ways:

(1) The riots have been aggravated and intensified as a result of Communists working with the rioters;

(2) The Communists have attempted to achieve a propaganda *coup* through the riots by claiming that they are the result of "Capitalist oppression" and "Police brutality." To the Communists the riots have not only been justified, but are a necessary outgrowth of the nature of the "Capitalist state."

Since at least 1928, the Communists have been attempting to exploit the Negro people of the United States. In that year, the Communist Party published a study written by John Pepper, the representative of the Communist International in the United States, in which Pepper said that "Communists must participate in all liberation move-

ments of the Negroes which have a real mass character."

In the 1930's, with the reign of Stalin, the American Communists fell into line and began to advocate a black nation in the United States. The Communist Party U.S.A. (CPUSA) did not bother to reword Stalin, but simply parroted his thinking and applied it to the American Negro. This came about as the result of a resolution adopted at the October, 1930 meeting of the Communist International in Moscow. The resolution was on "The Negro Question in the United States." Later, the CPUSA issued a copy of this group decision which is entitled, "The Communist Position on the Negro Question." It stated that the CPUSA must "stand up with all strength and courage for the struggle to win independence and the establishment of a Negro republic in the Black Belt."

Communists James Allen and James Ford later defined what would be included in a "Negro republic." They wrote, "The actual extent of this new Negro republic would in all probability be approximately the present area in which Negroes constitute the majority of the population."

The CPUSA held to its line of a "black nation" until April, 1956 when Eugene Dennis, then General Secretary of the Party, reported to the National Committee that "It is incumbent on us to reappraise our whole position on self-determination in the Black Belt. . . . It seems to me, however, that it is necessary to do more than reverse our position by shelving it. I believe we should state frankly to the Party the reasons and developments which prompt us to alter our position on the slogan of self-determination."

James Jackson, the former editor of *The Worker,*

wrote in the *National Discussion Bulletin No. 2* that "To retain our previous position (right of self-determination in the Black Belt) would be a presumptuous judgment and unwarranted interference in the actual course the Negro People's movement is taking (toward direct integration)."

The CPUSA dropped its program for a "black state" for two basic reasons:

(1) The policy had no support in the Negro community and was isolating the Communist Party;

(2) The question of integration had become a major political issue in the country and the CPUSA appeared "behind the times" by still calling for "separation."

There are, however, still identified Communists in the U.S. calling for a "black nation." A major exponent of this position is Harry Haywood, who has been identified as attending closed meetings of the Progressive Labor Party. Haywood, writing in a pamphlet entitled, "For A Revolutionary Position on the Negro Question," contends that the "Negro Question can only be solved on the basis of full development of the Negro nation in the Deep South under Socialism. The territory of the Deep South belongs to the Negro people. They have earned it, as no other people have earned a homeland. This is the meaning of self-determination; that the Negro people, in full possession of their homeland, have the right to decide the political future of that area."

Haywood further states that "It is impossible for the working class in the United States to organize an effective revolutionary movement and advance to Socialism without fighting for full free-

dom to the Negro nation in the Deep South; that is, to determine their own fate."

It is logical to assume that once the Communists believe that the concept of separatism can influence a sizeable portion of the Negro community, they will again espouse the same "old" concepts of Joe Stalin and the Communist International.

The "New Program of the Communist Party U.S.A. (A DRAFT)," circulated in 1966, states that "Without entering into any exhaustive historical review of Communist participation in the freedom struggle, we do single out two crucial areas in which we have pioneered. We pioneered, first, in the fight for class unity of white and Negro workers and in projecting the concept of the labor-Negro alliance during the democratic upsurge of the 1930's as the hub of a progressive coalition. We pioneered, too, as the first political party to mount the battle against white chauvinism in support of the Negro freedom cause, within the working class and the nation at large. These pioneering endeavors remain fixed stars in our policy. We deem it a primary obligation of Communists, of others to the Left, of all progressives, to wage the fight against chauvinism, to rally maximum support and allies for the freedom struggle, to work for the unity of white and Negro workers, for a labor-Negro alliance."

The "draft" program of the CPUSA carefully fails to mention the fact that they also "pioneered" in the concept of building a "black nation" in the United States. It now contends that "separatism is a blind alley," but previously it argued and campaigned for the ultimate in black power—a separate black nation in the South.

The Progressive Labor Party, those American

Communists who affiliate with the Chinese brand of Communism, argues in its document, "Black Liberation," which was passed at the national convention in 1965, "The key to revolution in the United States lies within the interlocking interests in the Black Liberation Movement and the working class 'struggle for Socialism.'" The declaration goes on to state that the "Black liberation struggle should be organized nationwide with a variety of mass organizations of, by, and for black people—emerging, developing and uniting into a Black Liberation front led by black, class conscious revolutionaries."

In this document, Progressive Labor advocates "Self-defense units to protect the above mentioned organizations and activities from the attacks of the ruling class and their repressive arm—the police and other para-military units." Finally, Progressive Labor proclaims: "The Achilles heel of the United States Capitalism is its Jim Crow system of oppression against the black people."

Communist organizations throughout the United States have now rallied behind the cry of Black Power. Hailing riots as "ghetto revolts," they are urging Negroes to organize into a revolutionary force and to embark on full-scale guerrilla warfare in our nation. Throughout our country, riots have engulfed the major cities in bloodshed and massive destruction. In three summer weeks of 1966, riots spread across the United States. There were riots of varying size and intensity in New York, Chicago, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Baltimore, Detroit, Milwaukee, Miami, Omaha, Cleveland, Dayton, Atlanta, Washington, D.C., Jacksonville, Fla., Providence, R.I., Lansing, Mich., Waukegan, Ill., Benton Harbor,

Mich., Grenada, Miss., South Bend, Ind., and Cicero, Ill. At times there were as many as 5,000 Negroes in the streets fire-bombing, overturning police cars and hurling Molotov cocktails. In Cleveland, four were killed and 46 injured; in New York one person was killed and 22 injured; in Chicago two were killed and 60 injured. The property damage from these riots ran into millions of dollars.

Chapter Two

THE DOCUMENTATION

On July 26, Senator Frank Lausche (Dem., Ohio), charged that "A national conspiracy executed by experts" was responsible for the riots in Cleveland in the summer of 1966. Two weeks later, on August 10, the Senator commented on the findings of the Cuyahoga County Special Grand Jury which had been summoned to investigate the causes of the riot:

"I would add to that finding that there is a grave potentiality of repetition in riots not only in Cleveland but also in every metropolitan center in the country. In my judgment, the Lansing riot, the New York-Harlem riot, the Los Angeles riot are trial runs. They are drills under which these Communist leaders are perfecting their technique, making it possible for them to spread destruction, spread disorder, and spread the impotency of government throughout the country."

The text of the Grand Jury report's findings regarding the causes of the Cleveland riot is reproduced in Part III, Chapter 3 but several significant paragraphs of the Grand Jury report follow:

"This jury finds that the outbreak of lawlessness and disorder was both organized, precipitated and exploited by a relatively small group of trained and disciplined professionals at this business. They

were aided and abetted, willingly or otherwise, by misguided people of all ages and colors, many of whom are avowed believers in violence and extremism, and some of whom are also either members or officers of the Communist Party.

"It is no casual happenstance or coincidence that those throwing fire bombs, or bricks, or bottles, or pillaging, or generally engaged in disorder and lawlessness were in the main young people obviously assigned, trained, and disciplined in the roles they were to play. . . .

"Nor is it happenstance or even just singular coincidence:

"(1) That the overall pattern for firebombing and destruction was so highly selective;

"(2) That the targets were plainly agreed upon;

"(3) That certain places were identified to be hit, and that certain other places were similarly spared.

"There was evidence placed before the Jury that rifle clubs were formed, that ammunition was purchased, and that a range was established and used, that speeches were made at the JFK House (Jomo Freedom Kenyatta House) advocating the need for rifle clubs, and that instructions were given in the use of Molotov cocktails and how and when to throw them to obtain the maximum effect."

The riots in Harlem in 1964 produced similar findings. Bill Epton, a vice-chairman of the Maoist Progressive Labor Party, was indicted and later convicted of criminal anarchy as a result of his role in these riots. Among other things brought out at his trial was the fact that he not only advocated violence in Harlem, but actually taught people

how to make Molotov cocktails in the midst of the riots.

Life magazine published the following portion of an interview with its reporter and a representative of one of the black revolutionary organizations in New York:

Q: "How far do you suppose the brothers might go if the next riot were to take place, say, in Harlem?

A: "Well, let's see . . . hmm. What's the first big commuter train to Connecticut after it gets good and dark? The 7:05? Yeah, well what do you suppose all those big Madison Avenue men would do if that train was to be derailed at 125th Street, or just before it came out of the ground at 91st? Stay there in line in the bar car waiting for that drink in the paper cup? Hah! Run? Where to? Call for help? How? Man, wouldn't they make some hostages?

Q: "Where would the police be while all this is going on?

A: "Don't you suppose like the police might be busy several other places just then? Like putting down a big fuss over on Lenox Avenue, yeah, or trying to unsnarl the world's biggest traffic jam on the East River Drive. Maybe the lights might all go out about now . . ."

Another version of what black extremists plan to do when the conditions for insurrection are ideal, is given by Max Stanford, the United States leader of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) in these words:

"Black men and women in the armed forces will defect and come over to join the liberation forces. Whites who claim they want to help this revolution will be sent into the white communi-

ties to divide them. . . . The revolution will 'strike by night and spare none.' Mass riots will occur in the day with the Afro-Americans blocking traffic, burning buildings, etc. Thousands of Afro-Americans will be in the street fighting; for they will know that this is it.

"The cry will be 'It's on!' This will be the Afro-Americans' battle for human survival. Thousands of our people will get shot down, but thousands more will be there to fight on. The black revolution will use sabotage in the cities—knocking out the electrical power first, then transportation, and guerrilla warfare in the countryside of the South. With the cities powerless, the oppressor will be helpless."

The foregoing is from a spokesman of the organization that is currently active in major cities of the United States, inciting Negroes to violence and hatred. It has been described by J. Edgar Hoover as "A highly militant, secretive organization. . . . It advocates that Negroes arm themselves and fight with violence." (See Part II, Chapter 5)

The "Chairman-in-Exile" of the same organization (RAM) envisions the first stages of the black revolution in these graphic words:

"When massive violence comes, the USA will become a bedlam of confusion and chaos. The factory workers will be afraid to venture out on the streets to report to their jobs. The telephone and radio workers will be afraid to report. All transportation will grind to a complete standstill. Stores will be destroyed and looted. Property will be damaged and expensive buildings will be reduced to ashes. Essential pipe lines will be severed and blown up and all manner of sabotage will occur.

Violence and terror will spread like a firestorm. A clash will occur inside the armed forces. At U.S. military bases around the world local revolutionaries will side with the Afro G.I.'s. Because of the vast area covered by the holocaust, U.S. workers, who are caught on their jobs, will try to return home to protect their families. Trucks and trains will not move the necessary supplies to the big urban centers. The economy will fall into a state of chaos . . .

"The new concept of revolution defies military science and tactics. The new concept is lightning campaigns conducted in highly sensitive urban communities with the paralysis reaching the small communities and spreading to the farm areas. The old method of guerrilla warfare, as carried out from the hills and countryside, would be ineffective in a powerful country like the U.S.A. Any such force would be wiped out in an hour. The new concept creates conditions that involve the total community whether they want to be involved or not. It sustains a state of confusion and destruction of property. It dislocates the organs of harmony and order and reduces central power to the level of a helpless, sprawling octopus. During the hours of the day, sporadic rioting takes place and massive sniping. Night brings all-out warfare, organized fighting and unlimited terror against the oppressor and his forces. Such a campaign will bring about an end to oppression and social injustice in the U.S.A. in less than 90 days. . . .

"Our friends are growing throughout the world, while those of our oppressors are diminishing. It is important that we immediately create strong ties with our brothers of Latin America, Asia and

Africa. It is important that our people stop cooperating with our oppressors and exert more effort to expose his beastly ways to the peoples of the world. Yes, we can win because our struggle is just and our friends are many. The hand writing is already on the wall. Victory is now within our reach. LET US PREPARE TO SEIZE IT!"

This frightening plan for the future is actively being promoted by members of The Revolutionary Action Movement at the very moment these lines are written.

RAM further documented its plan for widespread violence in America in an unsigned article in *Black America* entitled, "The African American War of National Liberation." A part of this reads as follows:

"Blood flows in 'real' revolution. Millions of Americans' blood will flow—both black and white in the coming revolution. This description is built on realism and not utopianism. It is built on the concept of two different ways of life clashing, essentially two different nations—white America vs. Black America. Our concept of revolution is not designed to frighten off punks, spineless and gutless people. It is important for us to know what 'real' revolution means. . . . The African American revolutionary awaits the day when Black humanism will prevail over white decadent materialism; for on that day the oppressed will see the sunrise again, the redeemers will walk the earth. . . . Up you mighty revolutionaries, you can accomplish what you will."

Significant in the timing of events on the Communist schedule was a conference held in Detroit, Michigan, on May 1, 1965. This was the meeting

which established the "Organization for Black Power." Negro radicals from across the country made up the gathering, at the conclusion of which they framed and issued the following statement, replete with the mendacity of a revolutionary manifesto:

"At this juncture in history the system itself cannot, will not, resolve the problems that have been created by centuries of exploitation of black people. It remains for the Negro struggle not only to change the system but to arrive at the kind of social system fitting our time and in relation to the development of this country.

"That Negroes constitute this revolutionary social force, imbued with these issues and grievances that go to the heart of the system, is not by accident but a result of the way in which America developed. The Negroes today play the role the agricultural workers played in bringing about social reform in agriculture and the role the workers played in the 1930's in bringing about social reform in industry.

"Today the Negro masses in the city are outside the political, economic and social structure, but they constitute a large force inside the city and particularly concentrated in the black ghettos. . . .

"At this conference we arrived at the recognition that the prop, the force, that keeps the system going is the police, which is an occupation force of absentee landlords, politicians and managers, located in the city and particularly in the black ghetto to contain us.

"Negroes are the major source of the pay that goes to police, judges, mayors, common council-

men, and all city government employees, taxed through traffic tickets, assessments, etc. Yet in every major city Negroes have little or no representation in city government. WE PAY FOR THESE OFFICIALS. WE SHOULD RUN THEM.

"The city is the base which we must organize as the factories were organized in the 1930's. We must struggle to control, to govern the cities, as workers struggled to control and govern the factories in the 1930's.

"To do this we must be clear that power means a program to come to power by all means through which new social forces have come to power in the past.

(1) We must organize a cadre, who will function in the cities as the labor organizers of the 1930's functioned in and around the factories;

(2) We must choose our own issues around which to mobilize the mass and immobilize the enemy;

(3) We must prepare ourselves to be ready for what the masses themselves do spontaneously as they explode against the enemy—in most cases the police—and be ready to take political power whenever possible."

A more concise blueprint of Marxist planning would be hard to find. Sections (2) and (3) clearly outline the revolutionary technique, re-fashioned for street fighting in American cities. The universal cant of Communists against the police is an integral part of any preliminary scheme involving civil disobedience, and is often the keystone of such plans. This part of the plan is followed up by massive agitation against the police, the Communists seizing every arrest or shooting of a Negro as an opportunity to decry "police brutality" or "po-

lice murder." They call on the Negroes to form "self-defense" squads, as in item 3 above, and to raise their "revolutionary consciousness" by studying the writings of Marx, Lenin, Mao Tse-tung and Che Guevara. In other words, we see the guerrilla warfare technique adapted specifically to conditions in the American metropolis and the Negro ghettos.

The more militant Negro organizations, RAM for instance, have been more overt in disclosing the universal scope of the black power movement. In this respect, the declaration made by the organization's exiled leader, Robert F. Williams, in 1964 is enlightening:

"(RAM'S) purpose is to bring clarity and give direction in revolutionary struggle. To help build revolutionary leadership.

"To present a revolutionary program of national liberation and self-determination for the African captives enslaved in the racist United States of America.

"To forge a revolutionary unity among peoples of African descent and to give a new international spirit to Pan-Africanism.

"To unite Black America with the Bandung world (Asia, Africa and Latin America).

"To fight for the liberation of oppressed peoples everywhere.

"Our message to the Black peoples of the world: UNITE OR PERISH—WE WILL WIN."

From the foregoing selected documentation and the fact of the riots, there is no doubt about the Communist plan for American Negro communities and the step-by-step implementation given it by the Party on the domestic scene and in the western hemisphere's hothouse for Marxist train-

ing, Cuba. The Communists in the United States, and here there is no need for differentiation between pro-Moscow and pro-Chinese groups, have obviously decided that urban Negro ghettos hold the key to guerrilla activities that can create enough anarchy to constitute a revolution.

Chapter Three

THE GUERRILLA PLAN

Techniques of Communist guerrilla units throughout the world are modified by the characteristics of the country in which they operate. What is correct policy for Vietnam may not necessarily be correct for Venezuela, nor for the crowded Negro ghetto of the large American city. Nevertheless, distinct guerrilla qualities are to be found in all such operations. A full-scale guerrilla operation in the United States would be far different in nature and scope from a riot. It would be a war and would involve the nation in widespread insurrection which would have to be put down with force. The nation would be in a state of siege.

Che Guevara, in his book *Guerrilla Warfare,* outlines some important points for the conduct of "revolutionary movements in America." Some of his assertions should receive our close study and attention. He states:

"We consider that the Cuban Revolution contributed three fundamental lessons of the conduct of revolutionary movements in America. They are:

"(1) Popular forces can win a war against the army;

"(2) It is not necessary to wait until all conditions for making revolution exist; the insurrection can create them.

"(3) In under-developed America [South America] the countryside is the basic area for armed fighting."

Anyone seriously interested in finding out about the tactics and operations of a guerrilla war should study this book. It fully explains how guerrillas took Cuba and are now active throughout Latin America. In effect, what Guevara says is that the military strength (or police power) of modern governments is not invincible, and that the "people can defeat it, given the proper conditions." He is telling guerrilla fighters everywhere that they need not wait until conditions in a country reach the ideal Communist crisis point before launching their activities.

The guerrilla concept for the United States is racist: black men against white men. Terror is the major weapon. In our large cities this terror would take the form of indiscriminate murders and mass sabotage designed to strike fear in the hearts of white people. The tacticians advocate that bombs be placed in subway stations at Grand Central Station in New York City during the rush hour and that trains be stopped in Harlem on their way to New England and travelers be held as hostages. Various terrorist squads would place explosives in department stores and large business buildings with the object of killing and injuring as many people as possible.

The design, as we can clearly see from the documentation, even calls for black soldiers and black policemen to side with the revolutionaries and sabotage efforts of the various law enforcement agencies to put down the insurrection. Most Americans view this as a most unlikely eventuality, but

the documentation, once again, is sufficient to convince any intelligent inquirer that the Communist tacticians have investigated almost every angle.

This terrorism would be aimed at creating anarchy and panic among people and in keeping police and fire departments running from place to place in the city as terrorists strike at random points. Guerrillas, once the reign of terror and bombings had taken place, would resort to nighttime forays into the downtown areas and residential neighborhoods. The object would be to make the average citizen afraid to venture outside his home at night and incapable of reporting for work the following day. In a complex metropolitan area the various lines of communication and transportation would be bombed or destroyed making both communication and travel virtually impossible.

The proponents of a guerrilla war in this country would develop a common operation among the various Communist groups and the black nationalists. The key would be simultaneous "uprisings" in the ghettos. At the same time, black revolutionaries in the South would attempt to terrorize local communities and inflict heavy property damage on the farm system. But while the revolutionaries in the South would play a distracting role, the major thrust of this guerrilla war would be in the cities.

The long-range hope of the Communists is to involve other sectors of the population in the guerrilla war, but major emphasis of their current plans is on creating a base of operations within the ghettos. Many Communists apparently are convinced that it is possible for the black revolutionaries, act-

ing in unison (and with no other help) to succeed in overthrowing the government.

The guerrillas would also count on the white population mistaking all Negroes for guerrillas, thereby increasing insecurity in the white community and creating support in the Negro community for the guerrillas. Again, the Communists assume that the repression which would be directed against all Negroes would drive many into guerrilla ranks.

Training for this guerrilla war is presently taking place in Cuba and within the United States. Guns and ammunition have already been stored in the United States by Communists, and training sessions among the various Communist and black nationalist groups have been reported by police agencies throughout the country. While I was an officer of Progressive Labor, I learned of a number of projects in which people were being prepared for a future guerrilla operation. Not only did we store guns in New York City, but target practice was held on Long Island prior to the Harlem riots. I was personally asked to find a hiding place for some of the guns we possessed and also to find a place suitable for target practice.

When in Cuba I met with Communist guerrillas from all over the world and saw a number of people being trained by the Cubans for guerrilla warfare upon their return to their homelands. Robert Williams* has conducted classes in Cuba for Americans on the use of bombs and firearms. The police in a number of cities, including Chicago and New York, are aware of storehouses of arms, and training sessions being presently con-

*Chairman-in-Exile of RAM, now living in Peking.

ducted by black revolutionary organizations. The writings of Williams and other RAM members have given the necessary specifics for making various weapons and explosives and how to implement a guerrilla war.

PART TWO

THE MEANS TO THE END

Chapter One

PROPAGANDA METHODS

Communist propaganda aimed at Negroes is almost without exception designed to inflame the people against the government and to promote a violent hatred between the people and the police. Any situation that can possibly cause a breakdown in the relationship between individual citizens and the police is vital to the Communists. They strive to increase the existing antagonisms between many black ghetto people and the various police departments until there is the possibility of violence.

The psychological warfare used by the Communists depends largely on the repetition of various slogans and biased interpretations of certain types of incidents. For instance, the Communists call any arrest by a policeman (be he black or white) a case of "police brutality." No matter the cause for the arrest or the conditions surrounding the placement of the individual under arrest, the Communists will contend that "police brutality" occurred. This charge is consistently used in order to create confusion and hatred.

The obvious goal is to propagandize the Negroes into believing that all police are brutal and that no arrest of a Negro is justified. Any charge repeated consistently and with enough verve (as Hitler and the Nazis proved) will soon begin to be

generally accepted. In order to advance a state of anarchy and destroy the effectiveness and confidence of the police, the Communists use the charge of "police brutality" to arouse the people to anger and resentment.

Another tactic of the Communists is to contend that all of the various ghetto riots are in reality "rebellions" or "police wars." They say that there was a Watts "rebellion," a Harlem "rebellion," a Chicago "rebellion," etc., and that in each case the people "rose up against" the oppressive "police brutality" in an attempt to secure "liberation" and "justice." The people are described in Communist propaganda as "rebelling against the police and white government that keep them in bondage."

When the Harlem riots began, a radio commentator interviewing Bill Epton, the Progressive Labor leader convicted of criminal anarchy, asked:

"Mr. Epton, have you or any of your followers incited any of this past week's rioting?"

Epton: "No, we did not incite any part of this rioting. It was incited by the Police Department. . . . They incited it and they began it."

Following the Watts riots, Herbert Aptheker, the theoretician of the American Communist Party, wrote in the official Communist journal, *Political Affairs,* these words:

"This Watts Ghetto Uprising was not a war between black and white; it was much more nearly a war between oppressed and oppressor; it was, in fact, with crystal clarity, a war between right and wrong. It was an uprising of those who had been as wronged as people can be and they were rising up to denounce that wrong."

The Communists glorify the riots and praise the rioters while never mentioning the looting, the destruction or the violence. Police and government officials who condemn the riots and the violence are characterized as "racists" and "reactionaries." Truth is suppressed in favor of propaganda. How else could one interpret a recent publication of the Progressive Labor Party, called *The Plot Against Black America,* which charges that the "white population is being conditioned to take a direct hand in the mass murder of the black people, who are struggling for their liberation"?

The Communists use the term "armed self-defense" to persuade the Negro people that they must arm themselves in order to survive. In reality, they are using a fraudulent concept to advocate what is actually "armed offense" against the police and the government. This play on words is typical. They appear to be urging one concept while in reality they know that such a program would only lead to violence and further rioting.

Throughout the country a number of revolutionary black magazines also push the "line" of violence and revolution. Although these concepts are often couched in the language of "armed self-defense," they are incontestably a call to violence on the part of the Negroes. Among these magazines are *The Liberator, The Long March* (named after Mao Tse-tung's legendary march across China during the Communist Civil War in 1935), *Soul Book, Black America* and *The Black Flag.* A typical article in *Black America* reads in part:

"All Afro-Americans must begin to think like guerrilla fighters, since we are all 'blood brothers' in the struggle. Let us learn from our mistakes in

the past. Appealing to a power structure does no good. The only thing that power reacts to is more power. If we don't think we can win, then there is no use trying. Cowards give up when the odds look bad. A guerrilla fighter knows he or she is right and attempts to win no matter what the odds are. Many of us say we can create chaos, but can't take state power. This is not true . . . we must be willing to accept the responsibility of revolution and be willing to go all the way, no matter what happens."

By ignoring reality and creating myths, the Communists hope to set the stage for more and more violence in the ghettos. Nothing else could explain Herbert Aptheker's assertion in *Political Affairs:*

"Again, the irony of the ruling class denunciation of the Watts violence—especially since it was the police and the Guardsmen who killed and who wounded—is simply monumental in face of the fact that violence by the white masters and property possessors is characteristic of American Negro history, from yesterday's slave ship to today's armed cruising car in any of a hundred ghettos."

The Communists in Progressive Labor say in *The Plot Against Black America* that it is the Negroes who must effect the destruction of the American system:

"Black people must work to destroy the imperialist order of things and to create a new order which eliminates the present evils. Black people must secure the power to determine their own destiny! In this struggle, we will be one with the oppressed peoples and the anti-imperialist forces

of the world, who are the vast majority of the world's population."

In its document, *Black Liberation,* which was passed at the 1965 national convention, Progressive Labor said the following:

"The key to revolution in the United States lies within the interlocking interests of the Black Liberation Movement and the working class 'struggle for socialism' . . . the Black Liberation struggle should be organized nationwide, with a variety of mass organizations of, by, and for black people—emerging, developing and uniting into a Black Liberation front led by black class-conscious revolutionaries."

Also in this document, the Party advocated "Self-defense units to protect the above mentioned organizations and activities from the attacks by the ruling class and their repressive arm—the police and other para-military units." Singling out their view of Capitalism's main weakness, Progressive Labor said finally: "The Achilles heel of U.S. Capitalism is its Jim Crow system of oppression of the black people."

All American Communists, regardless of their particular theoretical persuasion are adamant in their belief that the Negro people are the essential catalyst for the projected revolutionary situation in the United States. Bill McAdoo, for instance, says in the West Coast newspaper of Progressive Labor, *Spark:*

"The enemy fears the development of a vast political sea, founded on the exposure of every crime that has been committed against black people. All these crimes, discussed above, and the day-to-day murders, would then become part of the imme-

diate political consciousness of the black people. Having identified the real enemy and his weakest point, the black people would have a definite purpose and direction of struggle. Every act would have a political meaning and would further serve to unite black people in the pride of their new found power to confront the enemy with awesome strength. There would be no begging for crumbs when you can take from the enemy more than he would be willing to give in a million years. Hopelessness and frustration would be dispelled. The revolutionary potential of the black masses would be heightened immeasurably. Instead of aiming to miss, those who defend our black men, women and children against the racist extermination campaign—would aim to hit! We would dare to win!

"This then is what the enemy really fears. He fears the price he will have to pay for his crimes! He is at home here in America. Everything he possesses is right here. It is not as easy as murdering colored peoples 5,000 miles away. The battle will be brought to his doorstep right to the source of his profits.

"The black people of South Los Angeles possess a weapon more powerful than twenty-two thousand guns! And black people can choose their own time and place of battle."

Various journals and periodicals have made it a "point of honor" to outdo each other in their vehement rage in condemning the white man and in supporting violence. Even respected magazines such as the *New South* will contain an article by Professor DuBois Cook, entitled "The Tragic Myth of Black Power," and a black racist poem in the same issue.

Professor Cook pulls no punches when he states: "Make no mistake about it: Vigorous denials under pressure notwithstanding, the unique dimension of the Black Power myth is racism."

The same issue of *New South* contains the following poem:

ARSON AND OLD LACE

(or how i yearn to BURN BABY BURN)

We have found you out
False faced America
We have found you out
We have found you out
False farmers
We have found you out
The sparks of suspicion
Are melting the waters
And water can't drown them
These fires a-burning
And firemen can't calm them
With falsely appeasing
And preachers can't prayer
With hopes for deceiving
Nor leaders deliver
A lecture on losing
Nor teachers inform them
The chosen are choosing
For now is the fire
And fires won't listen
To logic and listening
And hopefully seeming
Hot flames must devour
The kneeling and fleeing
And torture the masters
Whose idiot pleading

Gits lost in the echoes
Of dancing and bleeding
We have found you out
False farmers
We have found you out
We have found you out
We have found you out
False faced America
We have found you out

Worth Long

The most successful of all the present black nationalist publications is *The Liberator.* This magazine, run and operated by Dan Watts, a former architect, typifies the desperate mood so characteristic of many black revolutionaries. In an editorial entitled, "The Enemy Within," Watts writes:

"This is not to say that all whites are blue-eyed devils (despite overwhelming evidence) or that no whites can be trusted; what is suggested here very firmly, is that the struggle for freedom of the Afro-American in America must be led by organizations controlled, directed and supported by Afro-Americans. . . .

"No people, no army, can fight while the enemy remains in its ranks. Our ranks are small, the time is short, we must not allow this intolerable condition to continue."

Following the 1965 Watts riot, the *Liberator* editorialized:

"Once again as in the uprisings of last year in Harlem, a hurried call by the white power structure was made to the pork chop 'preacher' from Atlanta, Ga.* getting a much-needed sun tan in

*Martin Luther King

Puerto Rico and a convicted degenerate from New York * to rush to Watts and help pacify the natives. Both of these poor excuses for men are an insult to Black manhood asserting itself. . . ."

The *Liberator* is a strong supporter of armed "self-defense" squads throughout the country. Recent issues have begun to exemplify the anti-Semitic nature of most of the black revolutionary groups. One article, entitled ". . . Semitism in the Black Ghetto" states:

"On the one hand, the liberal Jewish community advocates the equality of all men. But on the other hand, the same Jewish community is often responsible for the shoddy goods found in most Black ghettos, since they own the stores. They are responsible for the dilapidated buildings, the rats and the roaches, since they are the landlords. Still, they insist, 'We are your friends.' "

Novelist James Baldwin and Actor Ossie Davis severed all connections with *The Liberator* in March, 1967, over its anti-Semitism.

LeRoi Jones, the poet, playwright and black revolutionary, is an often published favorite of the *Liberator* crowd. The January, 1966 issue of the *Liberator* contains an outrageously anti-semitic poem by Jones, entitled "Black Art," reading in part as follows:

"We want poems like fists beating niggers out of Jocks of dagger poems in the slimy bellies of the owner-jews/ Look at the Liberal Spokesman for the jews clutch his throat and puke himself into eternity/ Another bad poem cracking steel knuckles in a jewlady's mouth."

Jones, who formerly conducted the "Black Arts"

* Bayard Rustin

theatre workshop in Harlem which was financed by federal "poverty funds," now makes his living by attacking white people in various "liberal" publications. A review of one of Jones' books in the *Liberator* quotes him as once stating: "The force we want is 20 million spooks storming America with furious cries and unstoppable weapons. We want actual explosions of actual brutality."

Recently, an issue of the *Liberator* contained an article entitled, "When a Black Man Stood Up." This article, which is a "tribute" to Malcolm X, tells the reader: "Don't be ashamed of the Mau Mau; America has a very serious problem. Her problem is *us*; you must kill the *Toms* in America and the Aunt Jemimas; it is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself. It is legal and lawful to own a shotgun. We believe in obeying the *law.*"

Magazines like the *Liberator,* the *Long March* and others are an important factor in the attempts of black revolutionaries to ready black people for the coming guerrilla war. They are an integral part of the highly complex psychological warfare being used by the Communists and black nationalists in their drive to win converts in the ghettos and exhort the people to acts of violence.

Muhammad Speaks, the official newspaper of the Black Muslim Movement, has followed a confused pattern throughout its history. One article is critical of our foreign aid and notes that "every so-called American Negro could be a millionaire many times over from the money that has been given to the Communist nations by the U.S. Government in the past 10 years. One leading Senator threatens a congressional investigation to determine if

opposition is Communist inspired to prevent the so-called Negro from seeking to establish himself in a state or territory of his own under Elijah Muhammad's leadership."

On the other hand, *Muhammad Speaks* is certainly not overtly antagonistic to Communists. The newspaper presently employs Charles P. Howard, Sr., as its "UN and Foreign Correspondent." Charles Howard has been identified as a member of the Communist Party in Congressional testimony. The newspaper sent Howard and Herbert Muhammad (a son of Elijah and the present head of the syndicate that controls Cassius Clay) to Cuba in the summer of 1963.

Upon their return a number of articles appeared in the newspaper praising Cuba, its "socialist" revolution, and the lack of race prejudice in the island. Howard also traveled to Algeria for *Muhammad Speaks* and returned to do highly praiseworthy articles on the regime of the now deposed Ben Bella. Howard is still praising various Communist governments, such as Tanzania, within the pages of *Muhammad Speaks.*

Two other writers for *Muhammad Speaks* have been identified with Communist causes. Sylvester Leaks has long been a fellow-traveler of various Communist programs and "front groups." He reviewed books for *Muhammad Speaks* for a period but is no longer an apparent contributor. Leaks, speaking at a "Socialist Scholars Conference" held at Columbia University in September of 1965, declared that the only group prepared to go to war against the American system was the Negro "lumpen proletariat," but that they didn't know "socialism from rheumatism."

Another writer for *Muhammad Speaks* has been

John Hendrik Clarke, who is presently one of the editors of an identified Communist publication *Freedomways.*

Muhammad Speaks has published articles highly complimentary to Robert Williams. One such article, published on November 8, 1963, was headlined "The Chinese Story the White Press Wouldn't Print." The paper stated in an "editor's note" that "While the white press maintains an almost total blackout of news emanating from mainland China (especially that referring to Negroes), *Muhammad Speaks,* in the interest of keeping flagging sparks of Freedom of the Press alive, reprints this report from a Chinese news service, almost totally buried by the major press services. Robert Williams, referred to in the story, is a Negro refugee from a Dixie frame-up and has long since been living abroad."

The article from Peking has Robert Williams proclaiming:

"Freedom in the United States is a farce. Yes, a common street dog has more rights in the racist USA than a black American. . . . However, I take heart in the fact that our people, like the other oppressed people of the world, are fighting back. We are bound to win because we are a part of the world struggle of all oppressed peoples."

Chapter Two

THE BLACK MUSLIMS

"The human beast—the serpent, the dragon, the devil, and Satan—all mean one and the same; the people or race known as the white or Caucasian race, sometimes called the European race."

Muhammad Speaks

Of all the black extremist groups in the United States, the largest and best financed is the Black Muslim Movement under the personal tutelage of the "honorable" Elijah Muhammad. The Black Muslim Movement is neither Communistic in design nor dominated in reality, but it has worked with the Communists and is certainly in a position to aid them.

Bernard Eisman, writing in *Focus Midwest,* states that "Violence and the threat of it runs the course of the Black Muslims' history." He also writes:

"Many new converts are made in prisons where they have triggered demonstrations and violence when they demand special privileges and recognition as a religious group. White merchants in New York and Chicago have reported numerous ex-

tortion attempts by men who say they are Muslims. . . .

"Two hundred screaming cultists tried to mob a Chicago courtroom in the late thirties, and when the fray was over one police captain and two Muslims were dead and eleven policemen had been knifed. In Detroit, police had to shoot to kill to protect themselves from a street mob. In Centerville, Illinois, last summer (1962), two believers were arrested in the bludgeon murder of a young Negro girl they had threatened because she had been seen with a white man. In Los Angeles, police shot and killed a Muslim when the brethren swarmed over them as they tried to arrest two men near a temple . . .

"The Muslim's creed is 'not to turn the other cheek.' They have often provided the catalyst for violence against whites, and in the Negro ghettos they attempt to impose a vigilante law."

The Black Muslims do not openly profess any "hatred" for white people, but this is how Malcolm X, who once said that it was "good news" when he heard that 120 white Atlantans had just been killed in an airplane crash, put it in an interview with *Playboy* magazine:

"As soon as the white man hears a black man say that he's through loving white people, then the white man accuses the black man of hating him. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad doesn't teach hate. The white man isn't important enough for the Honorable Elijah Muhammad and his followers to spend time hating him. The white man has brainwashed himself into believing that all black people in the world want to be cuddled up next to him. When he meets what we're talk-

ing about, he can't believe it, it takes all the wind out of him. When we tell him we don't want to be around him, we don't want to be like him, he's staggered. It makes him re-evaluate his 300-year myth about the black man. What I want to know is how the white man, with the blood of black people dripping off his fingers, can have the audacity to be asking black people do they hate him. That takes a lot of nerve."

Malcolm X served 77 months in three different prisons on various convictions. It was in prison that he learned of Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm claimed that the "First time I heard the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's statement, 'The white man is the devil,' it just clicked. . . . His teachings brought me from behind prison walls and placed me on the podiums of some of the leading colleges and universities in the country."

The Black Muslims have made many of their converts from criminals, and this is an important factor in their program. Malcolm X, speaking at Boston University, expressed this aspect of the Movement in these words:

"I should like to think that this government would thank Mr. Muhammad for doing what it has failed to do toward rehabilitating men who have been classed as hardened criminals. . . . The psychologists and the penologists—all the sociologists—admit that crime is on the increase, in prison and out. Yet when the Black Man who is a hardened criminal hears the teachings of Mr. Muhammad, immediately he makes an about-face. Where the warden couldn't straighten him out through solitary confinement, as soon as he becomes a Muslim, he begins to become a model pris-

oner right in that institution, far more so than whites or so-called Negroes who confess Christianity."

C. Eric Lincoln points out, however, that a more accurate view of the same phenomenon was stated by Eric Hoffer in his book *The True Believer:*

"It sometimes seems that mass movements are custom-made to fit the needs of the criminal—not only for the catharsis of his soul, but also for the exercise of his inclinations and talents. . . . There is a tender spot for the criminal and an ardent wooing of him in all mass movements. . . . It is perhaps true that the criminal who embraces a holy cause is more ready to risk his life and go to extremes in its defense than people who are awed by the sanctity of life and property."

Upon release from prison many of these convicts find themselves a part of the Muslim "secret army," the Fruit of Islam (FOI). The FOI is run by Elijah Muhammad's son-in-law from the Movement's headquarters in Chicago. The members of the FOI are trained in Karate and man-to-man combat; they are the bodyguards of Elijah Muhammad; they protect the various open meetings of the Muslims; they administer "justice" within the organization; and the FOI is virtually autonomous within the movement.

The FOI is known to protect the Muslims against "trouble with the unbelievers, especially the police." Some temples have as many as three distinct FOI groups: a junior FOI for youths up to sixteen; a prime group for men sixteen to thirty-five; and a third group for men over thirty-five.

The FOI is responsible for security and discipline. The FOI "frisks" everyone coming into a Muslim meeting; they protect the Muslim speakers and they are in charge of the various "trials" held within the Movement. Anyone who disobeys the edicts of the Black Muslim Movement is "tried" before the local minister and the local head of the FOI with the rest of the FOI in attendance. The accused is allowed no defense—the charges are read and the punishment pronounced. At least three different sentences are known: extra work, suspension from the Movement for a set period, and permanent expulsion.

It appears likely that the FOI was involved in the murder of Malcolm X when he split with Elijah Muhammad and began to organize his own movement. Although the members of Malcolm's splinter group still contend that he was murdered by the "white power structure," those tried and convicted of this murder were Black Muslims of the Elijah Muhammad persuasion.

The development of a strong-arm elite within the Black Muslim Movement certainly lays the groundwork for trouble both inside and outside the Movement. There is also the curious paradox, described by C. Eric Lincoln, that a "divine Black Nation, outraged by the injustices of a class-structured white society, has now deliberately created an elite of its own. How will the mass of Muslims react as they come to realize that, after all the bright promises, they are second-class citizens again, even in the Black Nation of Islam?"

Many people are apparently confused over the Black Muslims' use of the letter "X" to replace

the last name of the convert. In order to keep confusion to a minimum when a number of Negroes in the same temple have the same first name, they prefix numbers to the "X." You therefore see John X, John 3X, John 9X, etc.

Mr. Lincoln says that "The symbol X has a double meaning: implying 'ex,' it signifies an unknown quality or quantity. It at once repudiates the white man's name and announces the rebirth of the Black Man, endowed with a set of qualities the white man does not know."

Or, as Malcolm X explained:

"In short, X is for mystery. The mystery confronting the Negro as to who he was before the white man made him a slave and put a European label on him. The mystery is now resolved. But 'X' is also for the mystery confronting the white man as to what the Negro has become."

It is known that there have been direct relations between the Black Muslims and various Communist and "black power" advocates. Stokely Carmichael of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, met with representatives of the Black Muslims after he became an official of SNCC, and attempted to enlist their support for his program.

Black Muslims have been observed taking a serious role in the various ghetto riots. The propaganda of this cult (anti-white, anti-police, anti-government) is tailor-made to promote the racial strife so desperately desired by the Communists.

At the present time the Black Muslims represent the largest and best financed of the radical black nationalist organizations in the United States. The various personal restrictions placed on members as well as the Muslims' bizarre religios-

ity have kept most Communists from joining the Movement; but no one can deny the fact that the racial hatred and violence promoted by them plays directly into the hands of the Communists.

Chapter Three

SNCC

"The society we seek to build among black people, then, is not a capitalist one."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A prime example of the move to the political "left" among the civil rights groups deals with the radicalization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). With the election of Stokely Carmichael as chairman, SNCC was transformed into a revolutionary organization. It soon became apparent that Carmichael and his followers were dedicated to violent, revolutionary transformation and were willing to play along with the Communists in a "united front" effort to create a state of anarchy in the country.

The first incident that showed the nature of the politics of Stokely Carmichael and his vision of SNCC became clear during the "Meredith March" through Mississippi in the summer of 1966, when he first raised the cry of "black power." In the controversy that followed, Negro leaders from Adam Clayton Powell to Floyd McKissick of CORE offered varying interpretations of the term. Although the term means many things to many people, most agree that "black power" means civic power equal to the number of Negroes within the

community. Carmichael has never made it especially clear what he means by the term, but his actions put to lie those who contend that Carmichael is simply a rebel out to shock white people.

Carmichael wrote in the *New York Review of Books* on September 22, 1966:

"Our vision is not merely of a society in which all black men have enough to buy the good things of life. When we urge that black money go into black pockets, we mean the communal pocket. We want to see the cooperative concept applied in business and banking. We want to see black ghetto residents demand that an exploiting storekeeper sell them, at minimal cost, a building or a shop that they will own and improve cooperatively; they can back their demand with a rent strike, or a boycott, and a community so unified behind them that no one else will move into the building or buy at the store. The society we seek to build among black people, then, is not a capitalist one. It is a society in which the spirit of community and humanistic love prevail. The word love is suspect; black expectations of what it might produce have been betrayed too often. But those were expectations of a response from the white community, which failed us. The love we seek to encourage is within the black community. . . ."

On August 29, 1966, SNCC held a fund raising meeting in Harlem that featured a revealing combination of speakers. Naturally, Stokely Carmichael was the featured speaker. His companions on the rostrum were Bill Epton, the convicted "criminal anarchist" from the Progressive Labor Party; and Max Stanford, the head of RAM in the United States who now speaks as the New York leader of

the Black Panther Party, invented in Alabama by Carmichael and his SNCC people.

Epton called for a "united-front" against "U.S. imperialism" and then urged that the newspapermen in the audience be thrown out, which they were. Max Stanford then took over and told the audience that black people must overthrow their white "oppressors" by being like "panthers —smiling, cunning, scientific . . . striking by night and sparing no one." He contended that the United States could be brought down with "a rag and some gasoline and a bottle," i.e., a Molotov cocktail.

Carmichael attacked the United States as an aggressor in Vietnam and then talked about the riots in Cleveland. He said that in "Cleveland they're building stores with no windows. All brick. I don't know what they think they'll accomplish. It just means we have to move from Molotov cocktails to dynamite." He added: "They say we're stupid and don't do nobody any good and we deserve to be called that, because if we had any sense we'd have bombed those ghettos long ago. . . ."

And this was from the leader of the Student "Non-Violent" Coordinating Committee!

During SNCC marches in Greenwood, Mississippi, in June of 1966, the "Freedom" theme of the movement was replaced with the cry of "Black Power." Carmichael and Willie Ricks, a SNCC officer, began the new chant in the midst of the two-day marches. Asked why the new had replaced the old, Ricks replied:

"It's a more specific way of saying what we mean. When we say we want 'freedom' we mean we want 'black power.' "

At the same time, Carmichael explained his version of "Black Power":

"Negroes taking over the government of the counties where Negroes have a majority. . . .You ought to get the nappiest-headed black man, with the broadest nose and the thickest lips and make him sheriff. This isn't anti-white. It's just a way of sayin' we're not ashamed of bein' black. We need to be proud of bein' black. We need it bad."

In an interview with a writer from the leftist publication, *The Militant,* Carmichael was asked what plans he had if his organization faced violence. He replied:

"The Lowndes County Freedom Organization (SNCC) is not non-violent. Non-violence is irrelevant. What King has been working for is a moral force, but what we're building is a force to take power. We're not a protest movement. We're out to take power legally, but if we're stopped by the government from doing it legally, we're going to take it the way everyone else took it. . . ."

Another officer of the organization, Frank Miles, Jr., expressed SNCC's long-range objectives this way:

"First we're going to straighten out this county (Lowndes), then we're going to spread abroad. First we'll go into other counties of Alabama, then into the North, into Harlem, Chicago, Watts."

In the *Biennial Report* to the Alabama Legislature by the Legislative Commission to Preserve the Peace, the following findings were reported:

"We have found conclusive evidence that SNCC is operating as the action arm in civil rights matters for the militant Communist group, Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), and has ties with other

violent groups, including the Young Socialist Alliance, Militant Labor Forum, W. E. B. Dubois Clubs (identified Communist clubs on college campuses), CORE, UHURU (a violent pro-Communist group in Harlem), RAM (another violence-advocating, Communist-oriented civil rights group), and the Free Speech Movement . . . . SNCC is currently preparing to send 500 delegates to a National Youth Festival in Algiers. . . .

"Commission investigators have talked to paid workers with SNCC and drawn admissions that a revolution is the aim of SNCC, working in conjunction with its two companion groups MFDP and COFO (Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, Congres of Federated Organizations).

"We have also been told by paid SNCC performers that SNCC wanted violence—preferably to get some of its demonstrators killed in Alabama.

"All this is in line and keeping with published plans of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and its program of using civil rights as a springboard to achieve a Soviet America. SNCC is following the Chinese Communist line in its support of a pullout of American forces from Vietnam.

"On the basis of this cumulative evidence, The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is found by this Commission to constitute one of the most serious attempts by the Communists in America, with support of Red China, Cuba and Communist Nations in Africa, to effect a violent overthrow of existing governments, state and federal, in the United States."

Chapter Four

CORE

Stokely Carmichael is not the only civil rights leader to have moved to a more radical position in the last year. The new leader of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Floyd McKissick, has also taken up the cry of "Black Power" and aligned himself and his movement with the elements that are urging a more revolutionary policy in the ghettos. McKissick has not only taken a more radical position on civil rights, but has placed himself in the center of the anti-Vietnamese war struggle. In 1966 he traveled to Cambodia with a group of professional leftists. After a guided tour of the Ho Chi Minh Trail, they returned to the United States, denounced our war effort and demanded that we get out of Vietnam.

The new militancy in the civil rights groups and the attempt to tie the war in Vietnam with the struggle for human rights here at home is not as incongruous as it seems at first. The Communists have been working for some time to convince Negroes that they should not fight in Vietnam for three basic reasons: (1) According to the Communists, the war in Vietnam is a war of imperialism which Negroes should oppose since they are also victims of imperialism; (2) the people of Vietnam qualify as colored people and, therefore,

"brothers should not fight blood brothers"; (3) Negroes should stay home and fight for their rights here rather than be subjected to the indecency of fighting for white men in Vietnam.

This concept of not fighting other "colored" is not a sudden innovation; it has been advocated for nearly forty years by Communists and other totalitarian ideologies. It is interesting to note that in 1942 Elijah Muhammad was arrested by FBI agents on an indictment that charged that he and others were "alleged to have taught Negroes that their interests were racially akin to the Japanese." J. Albert Woll, the U.S. District Attorney, said the defendants made statements "as vicious as any ever uncovered by a grand jury." Elijah Muhammad was convicted and imprisoned in the federal penitentiary at Milan, Michigan, until 1946.

CORE and the other black revolutionaries have now switched their allegiance from the Japanese to the Viet Cong. Lincoln Lynch, an associate director of CORE, speaking at the Prince Hall Masonic Temple in Baltimore, Maryland on May 22, 1966, said:

"How can our President, our national leaders, our Senators and our Congressmen ask the black people to WAIT while 18% of the casualties in Vietnam are our black sons fighting for a democracy they cannot enjoy at home? How can Congress vote funds for an undemocratic war in Vietnam? We say to our President, to our government, stop this senseless useless slaughter, this needless, wanton waste of our resources; bring our sons home, fight the real war against poverty, against hunger, disease, the war against racism and inequality in our own land."

At its recent convention, CORE adopted the following policy:

Endorsed Black Power;
Refused to rule out violence;
Declared for "self-defense" for Negroes when necessary;
Condemned the Vietnam war;
Condemned the draft.

It is perhaps significant that Dr. Martin Luther King went out of his way to make this statement about the position taken by CORE and SNCC:

"CORE and SNCC more and more have moved to a position of 'defensive violence.' My position in the civil-rights movement is that we should not go on record developing a program around 'defensive violence.' The line of demarcation between defensive and aggressive violence is very thin."

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, denounced black power and its proponents at the NAACP convention in Los Angeles, July 5, 1966 in the following words:

"Though it be clarified and clarified again, 'Black Power' in the quick, uncritical and highly emotional adoption it has received from some segments of a beleaguered people can mean, in the end, only black death. . . ."

One white member of CORE's advisory board, the author, Lillian Smith, quit the organization in protest against what she called "the dangerous and unwise position CORE has taken on the use of violence."

McKissick describes non-violence as a "dying philosophy" which no longer can be sold to the black people. CORE, however, is reported to be

$200,000 in debt and has lost many white contributors.

CORE now has an estimated 80,000 members, with about a third of the membership white; and 200 chapters, mostly located in the North. Its headquarters are in New York City.

Chapter Five

RAM

In March, 1965, FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover, described the black extremist organization known as the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) to a Congressional committee as "a highly militant, secretive organization following the Chinese-oriented Marxist-Leninist line that believes in replacing Capitalism with Socialism. It advocates that Negroes arm themselves and fight violence with violence."

The Revolutionary Action Movement is actually more militant than even this statement would indicate. In reality it advocates not only fighting violence with violence, but a racial civil war in the United States. Its basic concept is a strange combination of black violence and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung, which were added later. It is now attempting to carry on a number of operations in major Negro ghettos, often functioning under different names, e.g., UHURU in Detroit, Black Liberation Front and The Black Panther Party in New York. Its aims are always the same: violence, bloodshed, revolution.

A Detroit extremist monthly called *Correspondence,* carried an article by Max Stanford soon after RAM's founding, called "Toward Revolutionary Action Manifesto." In it the writer explained

that RAM was formed by "Afro-Americans who favored Robert F. Williams and the concept of organized violence." This same article gives the Movement's motto as "One purpose, one aim, one destiny":

"One purpose: to free black people from the universal slave master.

"One aim: to develop black people through struggle to the highest attainment possible.

"One destiny: to follow the spirit of black revolutionaries such as Gabriel Prosser, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Sojourner Truth . . . Robert F. Williams and to create a new world free of colonialism, racism, imperialism, exploitation and national oppression."

The reference to Robert F. Williams in this manifesto has a significance that will be seen later on in this chapter.

Stanford described the RAM philosophy simply as "revolutionary nationalism, black nationalism, or just plain blackism." The article's exposition of the organization's aims, ends with this bit of Aristotelian logic:

"We can see that black nationalism is the opposite of white nationalism; black nationalism being revolutionary and white being reactionary. We see also that nationalism is really internationalism."

Max Stanford

Max Stanford, the American leader of RAM, was a difficult man to keep track of until he became leader of the New York Black Panther Party, mentioned above as nearly synonomous with RAM in

New York City. He traveled from city to city (and to Cuba for talks with his idol Williams) to keep in touch with his underground apparatus and build support for new local chapters of RAM. When he now appears in New York City, guarded by RAM members entirely dressed in black, he cuts an imposing figure.

Stanford has made his own position on the coming struggle quite clear. He tells us that, "All Afro-Americans must begin to think like guerrilla fighters, since we are all 'blood brothers' in the struggle." His plans differ little from those of Robert Williams: riots, destroyed communication systems, cities in panic, armed forces divided on racial grounds, black against white power, are all part of the picture.

The main centers of RAM activity are the large Negro ghettos. Its organizations are now operating in Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Boston, Detroit, San Francisco and Los Angeles, cities where major riots have taken place in the recent past. The Cuyahoga County Grand Jury findings in Cleveland disclosed that RAM was using its headquarters (the JFK House) and training grounds, a "recreation center" in the heart of the Hough district, as a drilling ground for snipers.

The Grand Jury noted that one of the principals in the riots was Lewis G. Robinson, former founder and "ultimate head" of the JFK House, member of the "Freedom Fighters of Ohio, the Medgar Evers Rifle Club, the Deacons for Defense and the Revolutionary Action Movement." The report stated that while Robinson pretended to be working with young people to better their education, he actually was "inciting these youths to focus their hatreds, and indoctrinating them with his

own vigorous philosophy of violence . . . Further irrefutable evidence was shown to the effect that Robinson pledged reciprocal support to and with the Communist Party of Ohio."

RAM has also been tied in with the Chicago riots of August, 1966. According to a police memo to Mayor Richard J. Daley, the organization had been under surveillance for a year and a half while they were recruiting youth for violent activities. Members in Chicago were instructing young revolutionaries in the use of firearms and Molotov cocktails, just as they had done in Cleveland.

The outbreaks of violence in the Bedford-Stuyvesant sections of Brooklyn in the summer of 1966 also bore marks of RAM activity. The Brooklyn District Attorney said "We have a working knowledge of RAM," but refused to discuss its role in the rioting.

Robert (Rob) F. Williams

The role of Robert F. Williams as mentor to the Revolutionary Action Movement requires special explanation. His ideas gave inspiration to others in the organization and form the basis of the Movement's peculiar violent approach. Prior to the summer of 1963, when I first met Williams in Havana, I was convinced that this black revolutionary held a key to the revolutionary program in the United States. I had already written articles favoring him and his policies in various Communist magazines and I was certain that his plan for violence and mayhem in the ghettos would sound the rallying cry for a revolution in this country.

Robert Williams has the dubious distinction of

being the first black revolutionary to propose a violent and bloody uprising in this country. It was not, however, until I met him, that I realized how psychotic he is. Diagnosed as a schizophrenic, his extremism has alienated him from even the Cuban Communists. His hatred of white people and the United States has now driven Williams to Peking where his super-revolutionary statements have apparently found common ground with the Chinese Communists.

I talked with Williams in Cuba during the summer of 1963 but never attended the sessions he held with various Negro members of our group. In the summer of 1964, Williams again met with a group of young Negroes from the United States. Out of this Havana meeting came the Black Liberation Front. Two members of this group were later jailed for attempting to blow up the Statue of Liberty and other national shrines.

Williams was born on February 26, 1925, in Monroe, North Carolina. He later served in the Marines. It was during his service stint that he decided Negroes should defend themselves against the Ku Klux Klan and the local police. He returned from the service in April 1955 and soon took over the leadership of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He immediately proposed that the NAACP drop its non-violent approach to civil rights and advocate a program of "self-defense."

Because of his militant stance he succeeded in enlisting the support of a greater number of younger and poorer Negroes than had previously been in the Monroe chapter. He armed his militants. The publicity that Williams received as a result of his position on armed militancy re-

warded his chapter with more members, but disturbed the national organization.

In 1959 Williams told a wire service reporter: "Negroes must henceforth meet violence with violence, lynching with lynching." The news spread throughout the country and the national NAACP had a fit. Because this "self-defense" was in open conflict with the non-violent and court-oriented philosophy of the NAACP, Williams was suspended for six months as chairman of the Monroe branch. This disciplinary move was upheld by the national convention of the NAACP.

By the time he was re-instated as chairman of the Monroe NAACP in 1960, Williams had journeyed to Cuba and had come back a confirmed "Fidelista." Soon after, he became one of the chief "causes" of the extreme American left-wing. Communist and Trotskyite groups regularly scheduled meetings to whip up support for Williams and his tiny band of "freedom fighters." On August 21, 1961, an organization called the Buffalo Committee for Afro-American Freedom sent Williams $100 for "weapons." A week earlier, leaders of a group known as "Freedom Now"—opposed to the "rich thugs, bigots and murderers in and around the White House"—sent him money from Los Angeles. A New York meeting is said to have netted him another several hundred dollars earmarked for "rifles."

Later Williams was involved in the violent United Nations rioting that followed the death of the Congo Marxist, Patrice Lumumba. "Black Monday," Williams bragged, "was one of the most violent demonstrations and I was there."

Writing in *Liberation,* the left-wing pacifist

magazine, Williams explained his early radicalism:

"We live in a perilous time in America, and especially in the South. Segregation is an expensive commodity, but liberty and democracy, too, have their price. So often the purchase check of democracy must be signed in blood. Someone must be willing to pay the price despite the scoff from the Uncle Toms. I am told that patience is commendable and that we must never tire of waiting, yet it is instilled at an early age that men who violently and swiftly rise to oppose tyranny are virtuous examples to emulate. I have been taught by my government to fight, and if I find it necessary, I shall do just that. All Negroes must learn to fight back, for nowhere in the annals of history does the record show a people delivered from bondage by patience alone."

By the time Williams wrote the foregoing, he had already begun to act out the last chapter in his American career. During a racial demonstration in Monroe on August 27, 1961, Williams and his cohorts shot a policeman and then kidnapped a white couple for use as "hostages." They were held in Williams' home, described later by police as an armed garrison.

As soon as Williams learned that the police were moving into the neighborhood he took his family and left the community. Utilizing an "underground railroad" he made his way to Harlem where he was hidden by Negro Communists while the FBI searched for him. He was smuggled into Canada and then to Cuba where he received a hero's welcome. Williams was given a suite of rooms in one of the fancier hotels and he wanted for noth-

ing while he damned and condemned the United States and its various police agencies.

Almost immediately, Williams and the Cuban Communists came to terms over his employment while in Cuba. He joined the staff of Radio Havana and broadcast a program three times a week aimed at the United States. He also published a "newsletter" for American Negroes. Both were used to promote armed revolt in the United States. The radio program became known as "Radio Free Dixie" and the newsletter was called *The Crusader* after a paper Williams had published in Monroe.

In his first broadcast of "Radio Free Dixie," Williams said:

"It gives me great pleasure to speak to you once again. As an exile from the barbaric racist United States of America and as one who has lived under great oppression which is symbolic of mankind's inhumanity to man, I find . . . the vicious racial caste system in the United States is designed to permanently dehumanize all colored people. . . . In terms of racial brutality, the white supremacy of the so-called democratic United States can only be approximated by the Union of South Africa."

The bearded Williams sat in his Havana home from 1961 to 1966 and wrote his "newsletter" to the black people of the United States. Here, in a few words, RAM's "Chairman-in-Exile" summed up his philosophy and that of RAM itself:

"Our people have reached a new revolutionary fervor. Our method of struggle is fast developing in the nature that oppressive beasts understand and respect. Not only does freedom require the will to die, but it also requires the will to kill. It requires an inclination to meet violence with

violence and to hell with those deceptive sirens who wail to woo us from our correct course in intensified efforts to run us aground in the blinding fog of ignoble non-violence."

The character and background of Williams are described in his own book *Negroes With Guns* issued by the identified Communist publisher Carl Marzani in 1962. To be sure, it was a complimentary one. But a different picture emerges from an FBI "Wanted" poster that was circulated in 1961 when Williams was attempting to escape to Cuba from a kidnapping indictment. According to the FBI, people were cautioned that "Williams allegedly has possessed a large quantity of firearms, including a .45 caliber pistol which he carries in his car. He has previously been diagnosed as schizophrenic and has advocated and threatened violence. Williams should be considered armed and extremely dangerous."

During his exile in Cuba, Williams became more and more emotionally upset with the United States, and hatred for white people began to overwhelm his reason completely. There is no doubt that Williams is a convinced Communist and that he has lost all perspective regarding this country and its racial relations.

Williams left Cuba and later appeared in Red China. This was not his first trip there. He had been in Communist China on several occasions and had developed ties with some of the leading Communists of Peking. On August 8, 1963, Mao Tse-tung released a statement which began:

"An American Negro leader now taking refuge in Cuba, Mr. Robert Williams, the former President of the Monroe, North Carolina chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Col-

ored People, has twice this year asked me for a statement in support of the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination. On behalf of the Chinese people, I wish to take this opportunity to express our resolute support for the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights."

Chairman Mao ended this historic message with the following paragraph:

"I call on workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements in the bourgeoisie and other enlightened persons of all colors in the world, whether white, black, yellow or brown, to unite to oppose the racial discrimination practiced by U.S. imperialism and support American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination. . . . We are in the majority and they are in the minority. At most, they make up less than 10 per cent of the 3,000 million population of the world. I am firmly convinced that with the support of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and throve with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with complete emancipation of the black people."*

This statement from Mao Tse-tung made Williams an international topic. No longer was he merely representing the "self-defense" forces of Monroe, North Carolina; he inspired a statement by the leader of the most populous Communist country in the world.

*Cf. Appendix for complete text.

Robert "Rob" Williams is now listed as the "Chairman-in-Exile of the Revolutionary Action Movement and Premier of the Afro-American government-in-exile" in the official RAM publication *Black America.* Speaking in Hanoi on November 27, 1965, at the "International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Vietnam Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression for the Defense of Peace," he acknowledged his leadership. He began his speech by stating:

"I greet you in the name of those of my fellow countrymen who are civilized enough to oppose U.S. aggression. I specifically greet you in the name of Afro-American freedom fighters who are waging a determined struggle against mainland American colonialism. As Chairman-in-Exile of the Revolutionary Action Movement, an American based united liberation front comprising many groups and organizations, I resolutely offer support to your gallant brothers of Vietnam and to this International Conference."

RAM has officially aligned itself with the Communist Viet Cong. On July 4, 1964, the organization sent the following message to the Viet Cong:

"Congratulating our Vietcong brothers for their inspiring victories against American imperialism in South Vietnam and declaring our independence from the policies of the American government abroad and at home. . . . We of RAM do not seek assimilation or integration into this 'free world.' We do not want to share in the oppression of our brothers anywhere on earth; we will not join in the American counterrevolution that is attempting, at home and abroad, to crush the mounting revolutionary struggles."

Other RAM Members

Luke Tripp, a Negro from Detroit, Michigan, was among the group of young Americans that journeyed to Cuba in the summer of 1964. He is a RAM member and a former member of UHURU (Swahili for "freedom"), which is more or less synonymous with RAM and functions in Detroit. Tripp once gave an interview to a Trotskyist youth newspaper in which he outlined the essence of the then functioning UHURU. He said that "our orientation is Mau-Mau Maoist. We are strong supporters of the Chinese. If you're in doubt on any position we have, look it up in *Peking Review.*" This review is the English language weekly news journal from Red China.

Robert Collier was another young Negro on the 1964 jaunt to Cuba. While there he joined with other Negroes in founding the Black Liberation Front, which still operates as a RAM front in this country. Collier was the mastermind behind the bizarre plot to blow up the Statue of Liberty and the Washington Monument.

RAM members have refused to serve in the armed forces. One of these is Charles "Mao" Johnson, also of Detroit, another member of the group which went to Cuba in 1964. He now lives in New York City where he teaches a course on Chinese Communism at the so-called "Free University." * Johnson wrote as follows to his draft board:

* "Free Universities" feature revolutionary courses and left-wing instructors and have become focal points for united-front activities and dispensaries for Communist and revolutionary philosophies in many centers of student unrest across the country.

"I *will not* fight in the service of such a brutal, beastly white imperialist and racist aggressor nation. . . . But if I am snatched over my objections I pledge my people to *agitate* among black soldiers to unite them around the following revolutionary principles: (1) Self-defense and vengeance; (2) All black independent action; (3) To fight for 'integration'—integrated pools of blood."

He ended his letter by stating that "The policy will be, as noted by Mao Tse-tung, the brilliant leader of the Red Chinese, 'to give tit for tat' . . . to wipe you out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly, completely, and utterly. . . . There ain't no way in the hell that I'm going out like a fool and fight my non-white brothers in China, Africa and Latin America for White Devils. . . . I support everything you oppose and oppose everything you support."

One RAM member was reported in Ghana following a visit to Cuba in the summer of 1963. His name is James Lacey. Agents of RAM have solicited funds from various revolutionary groups throughout Africa and Latin America, and there is evidence that money was brought into Ghana by young Negroes who met with Robert Williams in the summer.

RAM has set up contacts with various revolutionary groups throughout the world. When Muhammad Babu, the Communist government leader from Zanzibar, came to the United States in 1964 he talked with members of RAM and spoke at a Communist rally in Harlem. Babu is also on the editorial board of *Revolution,* published in France with Chinese Communist money. He, too, spent the summer of 1964 in Cuba.

As further evidence of RAM's international

connections, the revolutionary elements in Venezuela have promised RAM leadership that they will support the RAM cause by blowing up American oil deposits in their country when the black revolution begins at home.

No rational person could contend that the utterances of Williams, Stanford, Tripp, "Mao" Johnson or others of their ilk fall within the guarantees of free speech in the Constitution. Neither could it be held that the actions of RAM are protected by the Constitution. Not only do they advocate armed rebellion against a duly constituted government, but they are, in fact, implementing their plans. I have quoted extensively from RAM leaders in order that no skeptic harbor the illusion that RAM is a mere "civil rights" organization. RAM represents a real threat to the United States —not just to the white people of the country, but to *all* the people of the country. Just as the community confines those individuals who exhibit dangerous psychotic characteristics, so the community has the responsibility to confine and control the extremist organizations whose actions are both psychotic and dangerous to the very existence of the community at large.

Chapter Six

OTHER BLACK NATIONALISTS

Black nationalist groups are formed almost weekly. A list could go on for paragraphs, but a few of these include the following: The Black United Front, The Enraged Mothers of Harlem, Blacks Against Native Dying (BAND), The Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam, COBRA (Committee on Black Revolutionary Activity) and the Afro-American Student Movement. This latter group once published a magazine called *The Razor* with the slogan "To Build the World Anew." The magazine claimed that it was "published in the Racist USA by super-exploited black youth."

One of the Communist groups attempting to propagandize and activate the black ghettos is the CPUSA—Marxist-Leninist. Most of the leaders of this group are former CPUSA members who had been expelled. Ultimately, these expellees found each other and formed the Marxist-Leninist group. They publish a newspaper, *Vanguard,* and have an ideological position resembling that of Mao Tse-tung and Stalin, both of whom are idolized in every issue.

One leader of the CP-Marxist-Leninist was quoted in the *New York World-Telegram* as saying this: "We'd assassinate the President if it suited our ends. Don't think we couldn't do it."

The CPM-L Party, which is headed by Michael Laski, has taken credit for the Watts riots. Recently the Party set up a store-front office in Harlem which was burned by arsonists a few days after it opened.

The Progressive Labor Party, represented by Bill Epton, had this to say about the CPM-L:

"The 'party'—which claims to be a year old—was first heard from during the August, 1965 Watts Rebellion. They appeared distributing provocative literature, rejected by Black people. Later, Laski attempted to organize Black workers at a Los Angeles car wash; a called strike was unsuccessful and he ran out. Some of the men involved in the strike were later arrested for attempted robbery. The Black community, seeing a connection between the unsuccessful robbery and the CPM-L, completely disassociated themselves from the group. Their headquarters were subsequently burned to the ground. The Black community of Watts has repeatedly set upon Laski and his followers and beaten them. Spreading their 'line' at Los Angeles City College, they were beaten by the predominantly Black students there.

"After all this, after having been virtually run out of L. A., this group turns up in Harlem, with an allegedly 'pro-Chinese line.' It is not surprising, of course, that such a group should show up now, when Black people are more and more beginning to look to China as the vanguard of the world revolutionary movement, when Black people are seriously studying the Chinese Revolution and its lessons.

"CPUSA (M-L) activities in Harlem so far have consisted of attacking the Progressive Labor Party and some of the militant Nationalist groups; dis-

tributing a list of books by Mao Tse-tung and other revolutionaries; and having their headquarters burned down."

One youth group that is attempting to influence the black ghettos is the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the youth arm of the Socialist Worker's Party (SWP). The SWP is a Trotskyist organization with fewer members than its YSA offspring. Although it has not had any phenomenal success in enlisting Negro support, the YSA is probably the strongest defender of Malcolm X in the Communist movement.

The August-September, 1966 issue of the *Young Socialist* contained an article on "Black Power" which strongly supported SNCC and Stokely Carmichael. The article viciously attacked the NAACP and the Urban League because of their refusal to go along with Black racism. The article ends by claiming:

"The rapid growth and popularity of the black power slogan has demonstrated the growing awareness among black people of what is needed to deal with the reality of the situation. They are totally prepared to organize themselves to struggle and to fight. What they need is an honest and resolute leadership—a leadership capable of mobilizing their creative energies in the all-out battle for full equality.

"And one ghetto dweller from Washington, D.C. put it to a reporter at the CORE convention: 'The situation today in the United States is ready-made for Malcolm, and if he were alive he could set this country on its ear.' The new development toward black consciousness is one of the testimonies to the fact that there will be more Malcolm X's who will take up the struggle with the same courage and

seriousness, and with the same faith in the power and future of the black people of this country."

One "Black Power" group that is attempting to arm Negroes throughout the country is the Deacons for Defense. On February 21, 1965, *The New York Times* reported the existence of the Deacons for Defense, "a mutual protection association, employing guns and shortwave radios" which was born the summer before in Jonesboro, Louisiana. Armed Negro "self-defense" units began to patrol the Negro neighborhoods in that city.

By June, 1965, the Deacons had spread its influence. *The New York Times* stated that "The Deacons . . . has crossed the Mississippi River to Mississippi and Alabama and plans to move into every Southern state. . . . Earnest Thomas of Jonesboro, La., the 32-year-old vice president and full time organizer of the Deacons, said yesterday that the organization had 50 to 55 chapters in various stages of organization in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama."

The Deacons is headed by Charles Sims and has now moved into Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Detroit and Philadelphia. Chicago organizer Thomas, mentioned above, told *Newsweek* this:

"I don't see where in hell non-violence is going to solve anything. . . . When you deal with the beast, you better deal with him appropriately." Thomas is also prone to repeat the phrase of Malcolm X that "I believe in freedom by any means necessary."

In Washington, D. C., the group is headed by Julius Hobson who suggested the burning of stores of local merchants who oppose "home rule" for the District of Columbia. Thomas has informed the press in Philadelphia that the Deacons were arming

and training Negroes to fight "police brutality and the white man's power." Charles Sims has also announced that a Deacons group has been formed in New York City.

Undoubtedly the Deacons for Defense is one of the important links in any attempt to implement a guerrilla war in the United States. Once actual guerrilla operations began, the armed and trained members of the organization would be invaluable in spreading insurrection throughout the country.

There are a significant number of "independent" black revolutionaries who usually speak the same language as their "organized" counterparts. These independents include black writers, well-known veterans of civil rights conflicts, actors and singers. These "big-name" revolutionaries exercise a disproportionate but considerable influence. Their group also includes established "social workers" who have built a circle of influence within the ghetto through church work or community education and recreation centers.

James Haughton, a New York black revolutionary who works in Harlem, is an admitted Marxist and says:

"There aren't enough black revolutionaries—people for whom salvation lies outside the capitalist system . . . (Stokely) has the flavor and substance of a true leader. He is a solid cat. He is beautiful. . . . I'm too old, too intellectual. True leadership has to come from the street."

Mae Mallory, who served thirteen months in jail as an accomplice of Robert Williams in the Monroe kidnapping case, is one of the more articulate female black revolutionaries. She lives in New York and has been involved in a number of fracases at the United Nations. She was a sponsor

of the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade opposing the war in Vietnam and often supports various Trotskyist meetings. Her favorite propaganda gambit is this: "The black woman, if she's successful raising a son . . . the Army puts him in uniform and sends him to kill some other poor colored woman's children with similar problems."

Many extremists and black nationalists are unaffiliated with the known existing national or neighborhood organizations, as pointed out previously. The lack of membership has not stilled their anger, however, and there is not an existing ghetto that does not have its share of "angry young men."

The ideology of many of these young black extremists is not especially Marxist in content. The majority base their concepts on race, not on politics, philosophy or economics. Certainly, the political and economic nature of the country is condemned by these black extremists, but this is usually a by-product of their racial antagonisms rather than a cohesive philosophical framework. Most of them do not have a plan but are motivated by emotion and anger.

The ghetto dwellers who articulate their racial hatred and pride are not Communists in the main. These racists are closer to nihilism than to the philosophical confines of Communism. In fact, a number of black racists have refused to deal with the Communists, arguing that even the black Communists are really "fronts" and controlled by the white Communists. Bill Epton, the Harlem Progressive Labor chieftain, has been severely handicapped by the truth of the black nationalists' argument that he is merely a "tool of the white man."

The fact that there are numerous black revolu-

tionary groups operating in this country has both good and bad points. More groups competing for the favors of the extremists means less cohesion and national planning. On the other hand, the more groups there are, the more difficult it is to sift them out and to learn their inner workings. One avowed revolutionary told a *Life* magazine reporter to give up on naming all of the various groups. "You're trying to make a statue out of a handful of gravy," he said. "Crackers (white men) have bigger things to worry about than the names of the specific groups of brothers that's likely to hit them. The thing to very much keep in mind is . . . they're *going to be hit.*"

PART THREE

VIOLENCE IN ACTION

While organizing the second "student" trip to Cuba in 1964, word came to us from Harlem that some Negro gang leaders wanted to join the group. A few hurried discussions were held with these gang leaders who stated that they wanted to go to Cuba to learn "how to blow up police stations." At the last minute, discussions broke down and they didn't join the trip.

This was not an uncommon occurrence, however, for the Communists consider Negro gangs an essential part of a revolutionary program. We in Progressive Labor held a number of meetings concerned with enlisting these gangs into such operations as the Harlem Defense Councils and utilizing their existing hatred of the police for our own advantage.

I know a number of Communists who have attempted to infiltrate and further radicalize various black nationalist and revolutionary groups. Members of Progressive Labor had joined SNCC at one time or another with the admitted goal of further radicalizing that organization. A vital part of the Communist program is to initiate and assist violence in the ghettos and they will use any organization they can to achieve this goal.

Chapter One

SNCC REHEARSES

"Our blood must flow in the streets, in the alleys, over the countrysides of America before any meaningful change in our plight can take place. It is only a matter of time before this will happen; and nothing, absolutely nothing, will be able to stop it!"

LOUISE MOORE, in the *Liberator*

Of all the various groups actively proselytizing in the ghetto areas, the best known to most Americans is the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), called "Snick" by friend and foe alike. SNCC is the most "left" of all the civil rights groups that is not controlled by Communists or the black nationalists. It grew spontaneously out of the sit-ins of the early 1960's. It originally was composed of "shock troops" of the civil rights movement and, as Richard Armstrong wrote in the *Saturday Evening Post,* "a particularly tough southern sheriff draws them like a magnet."

Initially, SNCC recruited a number of white students into its ranks. It participated in demonstrations throughout the country, and because of its youth, white membership, and non-violent but militant approach, it was heavily financed with Northern money. In the early days, SNCC gave

many young Northern whites a means of working to achieve their hopes of improving conditions of Negroes. SNCC workers left college and lived with the poorest Southern blacks; they were jailed and beaten by Southern sheriffs and vigilantes. Some young SNCC workers gave up their lives in order to seek the changes they hoped for in this country. Early SNCC was sacrificial, idealistic and impregnated with a utopian desire to quickly overthrow the various discriminations that Negroes suffer.

But as SNCC grew, it was "infiltrated" by a number of young Communists who attempted to further radicalize the SNCC program. Issues of the various Communist newspapers suddenly appeared at SNCC offices. Young SNCC workers could be seen in most Southern cities sporting copies of Communist propaganda. Roy Wilkins, the leader of the NAACP, charged in 1965 that "Chinese Communists" were trying to penetrate the civil-rights movement, and the NAACP broke off support for the SNCC program in Mississippi because of Communist influence there.

Naturally, the Communists saw SNCC as a valuable organization well worth infiltrating and perhaps "taking over." Any civil rights group with a large student membership is certainly a prime target for the Communists. The Communists are always interested in youth and in influencing the Negro population.

The Alabama legislature singled out SNCC as a group "extensively dominated by Communists." James Forman, the former leader of SNCC, admitted that Communists do belong to SNCC and that "We don't ask people what they are. We don't

have a security check or a loyalty oath."

During a CBS Television "Face the Nation" program, Forman refused three times to repudiate the Communist involvement in civil rights. *Newsweek,* on April 12, 1965, reported "SNCC's attitude about Communist participation in its activities is decidedly laissez-faire. It makes no effort to screen its 250 field workers for Communist sympathies, and has no regulation barring Communists from leadership posts."

The syndicated Evans and Novak column reported in April of 1965 that "a SNCC representative named Reginald Robinson attended the Moscow World Youth Forum last September. SNCC workers plan to attend a Red-sponsored youth rally in Algeria this summer [the rally was later canceled after the overthrow of Ben Bella—P.A.L.]. And SNCC is seeking alliances with young radicals abroad."

According to Evans and Novak, John Lewis, another SNCC leader, said of the Communists: "If they'll help us, that's all we ask." Lewis was the key figure in placing Carmichael at the head of SNCC and is considered by some observers to be the more powerful of the two men.

Senator James Eastland gave an interesting example of one SNCC worker in Mississippi. Larry Rubin was injured in Holly Springs, Miss., in 1964 and a phone book was found on him which directly tied him with the Communists. Larry Rubin is the cousin of Danny Rubin, the former Youth Chairman of the Communist Party U.S.A. (CPUSA) and a member of its National Committee. The phone book of Larry Rubin contained the names and addresses of such people and organiza-

tions as: Ed Lemansky, a leader in Progressive Labor; Marvin Markman, a Communist Party (CP) youth leader; the *National Guardian;* New Century Publishing House, the official CP publisher; the national headquarters of the CPUSA; the New York address of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee; the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and many others of a similar nature. Larry Rubin later became a national officer of the National Student Association.

The financial arm of SNCC is the "Friends of SNCC." The New York City office of the "Friends" has been headed by Elizabeth Sutherland, formerly a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, who traveled to Cuba in 1961 with expenses partially paid by the Castro regime.

Miss Sutherland was an "unfriendly" witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on May 6, 1963, when she was questioned about her role as a fund-raiser for the now-defunct Medical Aid for Cuba Committee, a group headed by identified Communists. She is also the treasurer of the newly formed "Committee for Special Medical Aid to Cuba," which is run by the same people as the earlier organization of approximately the same name. Elizabeth Sutherland also signed an appeal for asylum in Britain for Soviet spy Robert A. Soblen in 1962.

Ruth Montgomery, writing in her syndicated column of April, 1965, quotes the then Washington director of SNCC as stating: "We feel that anyone willing to risk his life working for Negro betterment in the South ought to be allowed to work, whether he's Republican, Democrat or Communist."

SNCC clearly joined the extremists in June of

1966 with the election of 25-year-old Stokely Carmichael as its national chairman. Born in Trinidad, Carmichael and his family moved to New York City when he was eleven. He lived in New York until he went to college at Howard University in Washington, D.C. He has been arrested over thirty times as a result of what *U.S. News and World Report* called "his militant role in demonstrations."

Following the Meredith March and the launching of the "Black Power" slogan, Carmichael in 1966 went on a nation-wide "inciting to violence" tour. He was arrested in September, 1966, after an Atlanta, Georgia grand jury charged him with "inciting to riot." The Mayor of Atlanta, Ivan Allen, told the press that "If Stokely Carmichael is looking for a battleground, he created one last night, and he'll be met in whatever situation he cares to create."

Carmichael was arrested in Atlanta following two riots which saw 128 people arrested and 35 injured. SNCC led the rioters by using a sound truck in an attempt to spur the people into further violence. Mayor Allen was pelted with rocks and knocked from a car as he tried to plead for calm. Following the fracas, Police Chief Herbert Jenkins said that SNCC should more properly be called the "Nonstudent Violence Committee." Carmichael was also arrested in Selma, Alabama, in November, 1966, on a similar charge.

Carmichael, as noted previously, is responsible for the resurgence of the concept of "Black Power." Despite the double-talk of his apologists, the plans of Stokely Carmichael are clearly aimed at creating violence. In Evanston, Illinois, Carmichael himself admitted, "I am not opposed to violence." In Wash-

ington, D.C. he told a meeting of Negroes: "You oughta get together and tell the man that if you don't get the vote you're gonna burn down this city. Tell him, 'If we don't get the vote you're not gonna have a Washington, D.C."

Speaking at Berkeley, Calif., Carmichael told the crowd: "If we decide to kill, we are going to decide who to kill." During the same speech he said: "The men who run this country are sick." He urged the crowd to tell white people: "We're movin' on; move on over or we are gonna move right over you."

In Philadelphia, following the arrest of SNCC workers for illegal possession of dynamite,* Stokely Carmichael urged black people "to find their own friends. Our own friends are those working to destroy Western civilization. We've got to bring Western civilization down to its knees."

In Chicago, Carmichael joined with the Communists in calling the Cleveland and Chicago riots "rebellions and not riots."

Congressman Robert S. Sweeney (D. Ohio) characterized Carmichael as "an individual masquerading as a supposed civil rights leader, who is nothing more than an anarchist and an extremist, who . . . will do more harm to the civil rights crusade than anyone who has appeared on the American scene in this decade. . . ."

The Congressman later had this to say about Black Power: ". . . Boiling it down, it amounts to, let's raise havoc in the street and turn America upside down. If this doesn't constitute the advocacy of the use of force and violence to overthrow the

* Those arrested have since been indicted for illegal possession of dynamite, carrying concealed deadly weapons and receiving stolen goods.

duly constituted government of the United States of America or something close to it, then I miss my guess."

With Carmichael as its head, SNCC turned from civil rights to a campaign aimed at disrupting the war effort in Vietnam. Stokely Carmichael has placed himself in total opposition to the Vietnamese conflict, and following a pre-induction physical in New York on October 28, 1966, told newsmen, "I'll go to Leavenworth first," before being drafted. According to Carmichael, the government is using "black mercenaries" to fight the Communists in Vietnam.

On August 18, 1966, a group of SNCC workers attempted to disrupt the Army induction center in Atlanta, Georgia. Twelve SNCC people were arrested because, according to the Atlanta director of SNCC, "They protested the annihilation of black men in the illegal racist war in Vietnam." The Atlanta SNCC people later published an anti-Vietnam war publication entitled, "Would You Rather?" The pamphlet asks: "Would you rather . . . destroy another race, or help build your own?"

Stokely Carmichael, who began studying Marxist literature while still in high school, now advises other young people to "say 'hell no' to the draft." Carmichael has also accepted an invitation to serve as a judge on Bertrand Russell's "war crime trial" held in Europe. This "trial" attempted to draw a parallel between the Nazi war crimes and the purported "crimes" of President Johnson and his administration in their defense of South Vietnam from Communist aggression.

As mentioned earlier, Carmichael has also now tied himself to both the Revolutionary Action

Movement of Robert Williams and the Black Muslims of Elijah Muhammad. While Stokely Carmichael may not be a "card-carrying Communist," his actions indicate that he is willing to play their game both at home and abroad.

Julian Bond is yet another SNCC leader in hot water over his opposition to the war in Vietnam. Bond, who is twenty-seven and recently resigned from SNCC, was twice elected to the Georgia state legislature, but because of his refusal to condemn draft card burning and his opposition to the war, he was denied his legislative seat by his fellow legislators. The U. S. Supreme Court later ruled, in December, 1966, that Bond had to be seated in the legislature.

Today, SNCC stands clearly at the political crossroads. Its finances have been seriously cut because of its overt racist policy and its anti-war pose. If SNCC continues its present political drift there is a good possibility that SNCC will be indistinguishable from a Communist organization in the near future.

Chapter Two

THE STORY OF A RIOT

"You can't be a casual member of Progressive Labor. You need discipline; you have to give your life. This is a revolutionary organization. We're not playing games."

—BILL EPTON, a leader of Progressive Labor

When the Harlem riots exploded, I was busily briefing a small group of people about to depart for Communist Cuba. We had all been expecting trouble in Harlem, but the news thrilled us with the hope that other ghettos might now erupt. During the riot the white members of Progressive Labor were ordered to keep out of Harlem, and I only got to the area once when we delivered inflammatory leaflets to the Progressive Labor office.

Although we could not involve ourselves directly in the riots it was our responsibility to print leaflets and articles and to proselytize in the white community against the police. When Bill Epton was singled out by the press as a riot leader our spirits were boosted and we increased our propaganda drive.

The Harlem riots gave the first clear indication that the Communists were deeply involved in these disturbances and that Communists were actually training and directing rioters. When Harlem

erupted in the summer of 1964, there was evidence of extensive training and ample weapons for the rioters. Police were not only bombarded with rocks and trash, but they were also fired upon by snipers and had Molotov cocktails thrown at them.

A riot is a complex organism. Although there is often a single spark that ignites a riotous situation, it is never an isolated specific that creates the major force behind the riot. Riots, be they racial, social or political, are not created over one lone incident. Conditions for a riot have to build over a period of time. Anger grows until one incident sends the people into the streets.

The New York riots of 1964 are a case in point. The spark that apparently ignited the wrath of Harlem was the shooting of a 15-year-old Negro by a white policeman. In the ensuing controversy over the shooting, many civil rights leaders denounced the shooting as "murder" and relations between the police and the Harlem Negroes deteriorated rapidly. Still, this isolated act, for which the policeman was later exonerated, was only the apparent reason for the later rioting.

The riots left one dead, more than 100 injured, some 430 arrested and over 400 business establishments damaged and looted in the New York City area.

It should be stressed that the riots were not totally unexpected in Harlem. The police had known for some time that the conditions for some kind of outburst were evident. Relations between the police and the Harlem residents had reached a low ebb during the early summer of 1964 when civil rights groups tried to outdistance each other in their charges of "police brutality." Unemployment

was high, and the summer heat helped drive the people from their apartments to the sidewalks and front steps. Long past nightfall thousands of Harlem Negroes sought an escape from the heat by wandering the streets. There was also the constant talk of a "long hot summer" which seemed to both predict and entice the people into violent action.

On Thursday, July 13th, Police Lieutenant Thomas R. Gilligan shot a 15-year-old Negro boy, James Powell. Gilligan claimed that he shot only after the boy had attacked him with a knife and ignored a warning to stop. According to the civil rights groups, the boy had no knife and the shooting was unjustified. Later hearings on the subject cleared the officer of any criminal action.

The following Saturday night, CORE held a protest rally in the heart of Harlem. Speakers excoriated the police. A preacher said it was time to act by marching to the police station two blocks away to demand Lieutenant Gilligan's suspension. The crowd moved off to shouts of "Let's do it now."

When the mob arrived at the stationhouse they were met by a solid wall of police. Bottles and bricks suddenly began to pour down on the police from the rooftops and the crowd appeared ready to charge the station. The police responded by putting on steel helmets and shooting over the heads of the rioters. When a police captain told the demonstrators to go home, a voice screamed, "We are home, baby!"

From this point on, for a solid week, Harlem was an armed camp. Night after night, the police were confronted with mobs of angry Negroes bent on destruction and looting. The riots culminated in the arrest of Bill Epton, an admitted Communist, on

Saturday, July 25th, when he attempted to conduct a march through Harlem inciting the people to further violence.

The Harlem riot, called a "rebellion" by the Communists, was the first major riot in which Negroes began an almost systematic destruction of their own community. The Harlem riot also gave a clear indication, to anyone willing to learn, that the Communists were actively engaged in attempting to create riot conditions in most large city black ghettos.

Almost immediately after the riots flared, the police and city officials produced facts that showed the Communists had played a role in the creation and continuation of the riots. Most of the civil rights groups admitted that Communists were involved in the riots but they disagreed over their significance. Now it is possible to assemble the evidence and see, as the FBI said after its own investigation, that the Communists played a significant role in the riots.

A complete picture would depict the Communists as the major agitators prior to the riots. The Communists certainly did everything in their power to incite the people into a state of frenzy against the police. Once the riots began, it is equally clear that the Communists did everything in their power to perpetuate them and to intensify them where possible.

The acting Mayor of New York during the riots, Paul Screvane, stated on the fourth day of the violence that "known Communists" had been involved in inflammatory rallies and meetings and that Communist money had probably financed some of the demonstrations. The then police commissioner, Michael J. Murphy, said the police had

been "investigating very closely indications of left-wing incitement." President Johnson called in the FBI to assist the city authorities in an investigation.

For months prior to the riots, the Communists in Harlem had been conducting a steady campaign against the police and repeating the phrase that it was going to be a "long hot summer." The stage was set by protests, meetings, rallies, picketing and harassment of white merchants. All of the various Communist organizations were involved in this action, but the Communist Party and Progressive Labor led the pack.

CPUSA leaders participated in violence-inciting rallies in Harlem prior to the riots. William L. Patterson, then Chairman of the New York State District Committee of the CP, and Robert Thompson, the former New York State Chairman of the CP, attended a rally where identified Communist Jesse Gray called openly for "guerrilla warfare" to stop "police brutality." Gray took the Fifth Amendment 20 times when asked about Communist associations by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in February, 1960.

The Progressive Labor Party conducted a more militant campaign to discredit the police and inflame the people. The Progressive Labor Party might accurately be termed the American arm of the Chinese Communist International. It differs from the American Communist Party over the "means" to be used to establish the same end—World Communism. Just as there is an international conflict over "theory" between the Soviet Union and Communist China, so there is a national conflict between the advocates of the two positions throughout the world.

The Chinese have successfully created rump Communist Parties in a number of countries and have actually taken control of the existing Communist Party in Belgium, New Zealand and Japan. In the United States the Chinese concept of violent revolutionary overthrow of capitalism was taken up in 1961 following a mass expulsion from the American CPUSA of people charged with "left-deviationism."

Those expelled immediately formed the Progressive Labor Movement and began to institute a revolutionary program that is certainly more openly violent than that of the CPUSA. This in no way diminishes the danger of the CPUSA; it simply means that there are two Communist parties in the United States. They are both seeking the same "ends," but they differ on the "means" to be used to gain them.

Progressive Labor, in its short history, has built a record of violence. Its members have been involved in an attempt to carry on the plans of Robert Williams after he fled to Cuba. They attempted to arm miners in Hazard, Kentucky during a strike, organized the two student trips to Cuba in the summers of 1963 and 1964, and were responsible for two riots in New York's Times Square protesting the war in Vietnam. The PLP has also been involved in the ghetto riots in San Francisco, stored firearms in New York and developed an "underground" program. The role of Progressive Labor in the Harlem riots is instructive because it shows exactly how the Communists operate in a riot situation.

For weeks prior to the riot the Progressive Labor newspaper, *Challenge,* carried a number of phony

articles about police brutality. Progressive Labor reported that one Negro had been beaten until his eye actually hung from the socket. This was later proven untrue, but such stories certainly added to the anger and frustration of the ghetto. The Progressive Labor chieftain in Harlem, Bill Epton, who had been expelled from the CPUSA in 1961, had already begun to set up a special "front" group for the riots. This "Harlem Defense Council" was designed to create the framework through which organized guerrilla warfare could be carried out against the police. The Harlem Defense Councils not only teach karate but also have attempted to enlist the support of various ghetto criminals and teenage gangs. Epton and other Progressive Labor leaders told this writer that the Harlem Defense Councils were set up to get the people into the streets whenever a confrontation with the police took place. Epton also organized classes on guerrilla warfare and (as I have written in the *Saturday Evening Post*) target practice took place on Long Island prior to the riots.

The role of Progressive Labor in promoting the riots was so evident to anyone involved on the left-wing that even the American Communist Party was forced to conclude, in a *Worker* article on November 15, 1964, that the PLP played a "provocative role in the recent Harlem riots."

Bill Epton, in his role as revolutionary, told an open air rally in Harlem just one hour before the riots began: "We will not be fully free until we smash this state completely and totally. Destroy and set up a new state of our own choosing and our own liking . . . and in the process of smashing this state we're going to have to kill a lot of

these cops, a lot of these judges, and we'll have to go up against their army. We'll organize our own militia and our own army."

That Saturday night and during the next bloody week, Progressive Labor was in the middle of most of the violence. Epton, along with the former folk-singer, Bill McAdoo, who headed the Harlem Defense Council, held almost hourly meetings with the rioters. Discussions took place in the Progressive Labor office in Harlem concerning the making of Molotov cocktails and their utilization against the police. Unfortunately, for Epton, some of the students attending these classes included policemen working undercover.

Thousands of the infamous "Wanted for Murder —Gilligan the Cop" posters were printed in the Progressive Labor printshop. These posters were distributed throughout Harlem during the riots and helped to inflame the rioters even more. During the week of the riots, headlines in the PL newspaper, *Challenge,* screamed "Police Terror."

Challenge editorialized that "The rebellion sparked by his murder (Powell) will not end soon—in fact, indications are that it is spreading throughout the city. The vision of half a million—or a million—angry black men and women, supported by allies in the Puerto Rican and other working class communities, standing up to their oppressors, is haunting the ruling class. People have already begun to speak of 'guerrilla warfare' and 'revolutionaries.' "

The editorial went on to admit the PLP role in the riots: "There are reds in Harlem, yes—black reds. Bill Epton and the PLM have never made a secret of their revolutionary position, neither has

Challenge. We advocate and work for a peoples' revolution to establish socialism, with all power in the hands of the working people. This is the only permanent solution to Jim Crow, unemployment and killer-cops."

Challenge ends the editorial by telling the people: "Let no one plead for 'peace' while our children are being murdered in the streets. This is not the hour to 'stay home' from the freedom fight."

During the Harlem riots the Harlem Defense Council and Progressive Labor printed and distributed leaflets that read in part: *"Organize Your Block.* . . . The events of the last two days have shown that if we are not organized we are just a mob and are not in a position to properly deal with the enemy. . . . The Harlem Defense Council calls on all black people of Harlem to get up BLOCK committees with the purpose of defending each and every block in Harlem from the cops."

On July 25, 1965, the city and the courts enjoined a number of Progressive Labor leaders and members, including this author, from speaking, working, organizing, etc., in Harlem for an unspecified period. During a hearing on a petition to squelch the injunction, which was refused, the following testimony was heard before Judge Culkin of the State Supreme Court in New York City.

Patrolman Alonzo Stanley testified that at an outdoor rally, Bill Epton pointed the policeman out to the crowd and said that Stanley "would have to choose sides and that his blood would not be spared because he was a black police officer." Police Officer Clarence Crabb testified that Bill Epton told a group on July 18th: "If there was any opposition it should not be dealt with on the Ave-

nue, but the police should be sucked into the side streets where they could be bombarded with missiles."

Another policeman, Clifton King, testified that Epton told the crowd that "people are wasting their time throwing empty bottles, and if they would fill them with some kind of liquid it would create more disturbance."

Following the riots a grand jury was impaneled to consider possible criminal indictments. Bill Epton was indicted for his role and later convicted. None of the Progressive Labor people called before the grand jury answered the questions posed to them by the district attorney. Subsequently, a number of these people were convicted of civil contempt and some served jail sentences while others are still appealing their cases. One Progressive Labor member, Vivian Anderson, refused to tell the grand jury whether she had heard Epton discuss the purchase of firearms. Bill McAdoo refused to answer whether he had given a demonstration at the Harlem PL headquarters as to how to make Molotov cocktails.

Progressive Labor held a National Coordinating Committee meeting in October, 1964, to discuss the riots and to lay plans for future ghetto agitation. At this Coordinating Committee Meeting, Milt Rosen, the leader of Progressive Labor, made the point that "we have to be very clear what we mean by revolutionary and I want to underline Morty's [Mort Scheer, the West Coast leader of PL] point of view, because when I talk about revolutionary what I mean is that you want to overthrow the system and have the dictatorship of the proletariat." He went on to shore up this point by adding: "I'm fighting for the dictatorship of the proletar-

iat. When I talk about revolution that's what I mean."

During the discussion Bill McAdoo complained, "We didn't get the support we needed and could have gotten even from the East Side Club (of Progressive Labor)." Milt Rosen then said, "We didn't lay the groundwork and when it happened we were weak."

Alice Jerome, the leader of the Lower East Side Club, defended the relative inaction of the club during the riots by stating:

"There was a time when we could have gone along with and participated in and helped to stimulate a much more wide-spread uprising on the lower east side, as part of our expression of support and solidarity to what was going on in Harlem, and we didn't do it. We tried to evaluate our position in the community, as to who would go with us and who wouldn't, and we felt that the main support for the anti-police uprising that was imminent on 3rd Street, where we were having our street meetings, were not the Puerto Rican people of the community. . . . We felt that we could not carry an action through with any kind of success or value, other than a blood bath. . . . If the opportunity comes again—the big question is how to consolidate whatever gains are made."

This remarkable discussion among the Progressive Labor Communists is instructive because it proves that they are planning to "overthrow the system and have the dictatorship of the proletariat" and that a diversionary riot was seriously contemplated. The Lower East Side Club was the obvious choice of Progressive Labor to instigate a parallel riot because they had been working for months in an attempt to rouse the Puerto Ricans

in that area to fight the police. Street meetings, many of which I attended, were held in which the police were accused of an enormity of crimes and the people urged to arm and fight back against the police.

This concept of diversionary riot is an important part of the Communist plan to create anarchy out of a riot. In a city the size of New York, once the police are drawn into Harlem to fight the mobs it would create momentary havoc if another riot took place in another part of the city. The police lines might initially be drawn thin and the rioters could reek destruction almost unabated for a time. Riots springing up throughout a city could also cause panic among the general public who would fear to venture onto the streets.

On August 8, 1966, more than 10,000 people gathered in Peking to hear Chinese Communists and Robert Williams "support American Negroes' use of revolutionary violence against counter-revolutionary violence." During the rally the following message to Robert Williams from Bill Epton was read to the crowd:

"The black people in the USA are in the midst of their struggle to achieve their self-determination and liberation. We, at the same time, offer our resolute support to the heroic Vietnamese people for giving leadership to the world revolutionary movement against US imperialism, and revisionism led by the Soviet Union. We join hands with you on this occasion with the knowledge that the world revolutionary movement will be victorious over US imperialism and its revisionist collaborators."

Basing its political strategy on the Chinese Communist model of guerrilla warfare and violent rev-

olution, the Progressive Labor Party represents a definite threat to the Negro people and the civil rights movement. The Harlem riots proved that Progressive Labor is intent upon fomenting violence and guerrilla warfare wherever possible. The ghetto areas have been chosen as the prime target because, to quote Mort Scheer, PL's West Coast leader, "Black Marxist-Leninists will lead this revolution."

Chapter Three

MORE VIOLENCE

"The demands for change in the status of the Negro population in America keep rising, and where this movement encounters most reactionary forms of official resistance, where it encounters repressions, it takes violent forms. A striking example is the uprising in Los Angeles."

—from an August 17, 1965 TASS broadcast from Radio Moscow.

The future bodes ill for anyone who thinks our ghetto riots are over. If anything, the pressures and the potential for future riots have increased. The Communists and the black nationalists have been working overtime in the various ghettos to further inflame the people into taking violent action. Added to this agitation is the general breakdown of respect for law and order throughout the country.

Various civil rights "leaders" have openly called for civil disobedience and a flaunting of those laws they consider "unconstitutional." The police and law enforcement agencies are constantly berated and the cry of "police brutality" echoes throughout the land. Civil rights "leaders" who, by word and deed, promoted a disrespect for both the

law and the police have helped to hasten the conditions leading to various ghetto riots.

Following the ghetto riots in the Hough area of Cleveland, Ohio, a special grand jury was impaneled. The jury noted: "We profoundly believe that a rigid adherence by everyone to the established law and order of this country should instantly replace the guerrilla warfare practiced in the streets and neighborhoods." But this is the antithesis of those civil rights advocates, and their political cronies who advocate breaking the law when they believe it to be unfair or unjust.

The Cleveland grand jury noted in this regard: "Whatsoever we in this country set out to achieve should be accomplished within the framework of the laws fashioned for the benefit and protection of every citizen and not by any means we think can be employed or the time we fix for ourselves. . . . What this country and this community need, in the opinion of this jury of laymen, themselves citizens and parents and in business and professions, is not so much a blood bath but a good cleansing spiritual bath."

Another group, often overlooked, that bears a responsibility for laying the groundwork for Communist agitation and the ghetto riots is the irresponsible politicians. Numerous politicians seem more interested in gaining votes than in promoting tangible civil rights. The ghetto riots have been partially caused by the opportunistic politician who tells a ghetto audience: "This will be another long hot summer unless we get you the full amount of federally endorsed freedom immediately." And Negroes, constantly promised a treasure, have time and again ended up with a few coins. They are bound to run out of patience when prom-

ises are not fulfilled, and take matters into their own hands.

Once the groundwork is laid by social conditions, economic deprivations, civil disobedience and political skulduggery, a riot is born. The Communists move in once violence is in the air, and the public is shocked by another Watts or Cleveland or Chicago or New York or . . .

Mr. Morris L. Leibman, a distinguished Chicago lawyer and chairman of the American Bar Association's Committee on Education Against Communism, has written of Communist tactics in the July, 1965 issue of the *American Bar Association Journal.* In his article, Mr. Leibman correctly states that the "inexorable requirement of Communism is to exploit mankind's troubles ideologically, philosophically, and psychologically. Yet we seem to be surprised, confused and even bitter about Communist intervention in our civil rights problems. What could be a more natural target?

"The Communist Party of the United States has a long history of attempting to infiltrate every segment of our society. The Negroes of America have a long history of resisting subversion, but it would be dangerous to believe that Communists would not seek to insert themselves where there is unreasoning and extreme militancy in any troubled area. This is no reflection on any segment of society. It is a recognition of the constant threat of trained troublemakers and rabble rousers. The Communists know they can profit by stimulating agitation and disrespect for law and order. They would neglect their own sinister doctrines if they did not use these instruments of subversion and violence."

In Cleveland, Ohio, the Communist doctrine of

promoting and supporting violence was clearly evidenced. The special grand jury report on the riots was very clear regarding the role of the Communists. Because of their clarity and lack of rhetoric, the sections of the grand jury report dealing specifically with the role of the Communists in the riots are reprinted here:

"This jury finds that the outbreak of lawlessness and disorder was both organized, precipitated and exploited by a relatively small group of trained and disciplined professionals of this business.

"They were aided and abetted, wittingly or otherwise, by misguided people of all ages and colors, many of whom are avowed believers in violence and extremism, and some of whom also are either members of or officers in the Communist Party.

"The majority of people in the Hough area had no part in either the lawlessness or disorders. . . . They have been hindered rather than helped by this major tragedy. . . .

"This jury in consideration of the basic and wide public interest and exercising the latitude granted it under the laws which empower the creation of such a body as ours, nonetheless make reference to individuals and organizations that in varying degrees were contributors to the Hough area lawlessness and disorder.

"It further notes the presence of many of these same individuals and organizations in another instance of lawlessness and disorder, that on Superior Avenue, which bore many of the striking similarities to the Hough area disorders.

"It notes the further significant fact that the Superior Avenue episode preceded the Hough area disorders by less than a month.

"Some of the same people were observed in both places on several nights of the disorders.

"This jury further believes, that, even though what already happened is both regrettable and tragic in every conceivable human aspect there is a grave potentiality for repetition of these disorders or others like them occurring elsewhere in this community. . . .

"Finally, before making specific reference to adult leaders in these crises areas, and the events leading up to them, the jury respectfully calls attention to the effective uses made of impressionable, emotionally immature and susceptible young minds by those who for one reason or another have set out to accomplish their designs and objectives in Europe, Asia, South America and elsewhere.

"It is no casual happenstance or coincidence that those throwing fire bombs or bricks or bottles or pillaging or generally engaged in disorder and lawlessness were in the main young people obviously assigned, trained and disciplined in the roles they were to play in the pattern of these dual outbreaks separated by less than one month.

"Nor, by the same token, is it happenstance, or even just singular coincidence:

"(1) That the over-all pattern for fire bombing and destruction to both the Superior and Hough areas was so highly selective.

"(2) That the targets were plainly agreed upon;

"(3) That certain places were identified to be hit, and that certain other places were similarly spared.

"On both of these occasions, the Superior and Hough disorders, the presence of teenagers previously referred to, was observed by the police, by plainclothes officers and undercover agents who

had been assigned for long periods to observe these youths. . . .

"The JFK House, meaning Jomo Freedom Kenyata House, is located at 8001 Superior Avenue. The leaders are:

"*Lewis G. Robinson,* and *Beth Robinson,* his wife, living at 1242 East 89th Street;

"*Harliel Jones,* 9716 Hough Avenue; *Albert D. Ware-Bey,* 11611 Castlewood Avenue; and *Philip Morris,* 7806 Radell Avenue.

"*Lewis Robinson* has been affiliated with the Freedom Fighters of Ohio, the Medgar Evers Rifle Club (which he helped to found), the JFK House, of which he is the ultimate head, the Deacons for Defense, and the Revolutionary Action Movement.

"All of these clubs, to which Lewis Robinson belongs are Black Nationalist Clubs.

"Testimony before this jury discredited Lewis Robinson as a leader concerned with generally altruistic interests in youth but rather points to him as inciting these youths to focus their hatreds and indoctrinating them with his own vigorous philosophy of violence.

"He exerted a profound influence over the JFK youths and he still does.

"Harliel Jones is affiliated with JFK House, the Medgar Evers Rifle Club, the Revolutionary Action Movement; he is vice president of the Deacons for Defense in spite of his public disavowals, and has frequently either presided over or sponsored meetings for Black Nationalists, and espouses the ultimate revolutionary purpose for adjusting differences or obtaining desired ends.

"Along with Lewis G. Robinson, Harliel Jones caused 2,000 pieces of literature to be printed and circulated, citing alleged instances of 'police

brutality' and on the eve of the Hough area riots circulated the greatest number of these to youths of non-voting age under the plausible guise of urging the defeat of a levy at the polls.

"Special movies of an undisclosed and voluntary interview shown to the jury presented Harliel Jones as an outright exponent of violence, a Black Power apostle with a bitter hatred of all whites, a co-founder of the Rifle Club.

"Albert D. Ware-Bey, belonged to the same clubs as Harliel Jones. He declined to testify before the jury. Police agencies presented evidence that Ware-Bey, Robinson and Jones all purchased quantities of rifles, and all belonged to the Rifle Clubs here and in other cities.

"Ware-Bey expressed no allegiance to this country, professed himself not to be bound by its laws and in the opinion of the jury, by both testimony and his own conduct, was not one who could have other than destructive influence upon youth either at the JFK House or elsewhere.

"There was evidence placed before the jury that Rifle Clubs were formed, that ammunition was purchased and that a range was established and used, that speeches were made at JFK House advocating the need for rifle clubs, and that instructions were given in the use of Molotov cocktails, and how and when to throw them to obtain maximum effect.

"Further, irrefutable evidence was shown to the effect that Robinson pledged reciprocal support to and with the Communist Party of Ohio.

"In addition, Robinson attended many meetings at which imported Communist speakers talked and was arrested at one of these.

"It was established before the jury that the

leaders of the W.E.B. DuBois Club, and the Communist Youth Party with interchangeable officers and virtually identical concepts, arrived in Cleveland only a few days before the Hough area disorders.

"They took up residence at 1844 East 81st Street, only a short distance from the central point of origin of the Hough area troubles.

"These men, who came from Chicago, New York and Brooklyn, were Mike Bayer otherwise known as Mike Davidow, Daniel Mack, Ronald Lucas and Steve Shretter.

"They were seen constantly together. They made swift contact with the JFK House leadership, and with Phil Bart, of Middlehurst Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio, and his wife, Connie, who, the evidence showed, are also leaders of the Communist Party throughout the Ohio Valley district, including Cleveland. . . .

"In the course of its investigation the grand jury has learned that police and firemen were targets for snipers and individuals throwing rocks and bricks.

"Further, fire equipment was damaged, particularly hoses which were cut or attempted to be cut so as to render them useless in the protection of persons and property.

"These acts were a direct affront to lawful authority and of necessity would lead to justifiable armed self-protection, unfortunately resulting in occasional injury and death to the innocent.

"These senseless acts cannot be tolerated and the perpetrators should be subjected to severe penalties. . . ."

Congressman John Buchanan, speaking on the

House floor, noted the important fact that the "Grand Jury also received evidence that leaders of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs arrived in Cleveland a few days before the Hough area outbreaks. In fact, they established residence at an address only a short distance from the origin of the Hough riots."

The DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) are the youth arm of the Communist Party of the United States. The Attorney General has called them to appear before the Subversive Activities Control Board where he has charged them with being a "Communist-front organization." The petition of the Attorney General stated in part:

"From its inception DCA has been and is substantially directed, dominated and controlled by the Communist Party and has been and is primarily operated for the purpose of giving aid and support to the Communist Party."

The DuBois Clubs are now actively organizing in the Watts district of Los Angeles in the hope that yet another ghetto riot can be produced. The leader of the DuBois Clubs in that area, and its recently elected national chairman, is Franklin Alexander. Alexander has advocated that Watts hold a referendum to see whether it can withdraw from the city of Los Angeles and incorporate itself as a separate entity. The absurdity of this concept is pointed up with the realization that this would mean a cut off for unemployment and welfare funds now paid into Watts from Los Angeles.

The Watts riot of August, 1965, was the most destructive and ominous of any of our ghetto riots to date. This riot resulted in 35 deaths and a property loss of at least $40 million. Today, the same

conditions exist that fomented the original Watts riot with the possible exception that *more* agitators are now at work trying to organize the people.

The spark that apparently set off the 1965 riot in Watts was the arrest of a young Negro for drunk driving. This seemingly routine arrest triggered a family fight with the police and the massing of hundreds of Negroes into the streets. The immediate cry of "police brutality" resounded through the crowd and the riot that broke out later in the evening has usually been traced to this incident.

This destructive riot, which coined the phrase, "Burn, baby, burn," was undoubtedly caused in part by a resentment of the people of the ghetto toward the police and white people in particular. A young Negro participant told the authors of *Burn, Baby, Burn,* Jerry Cohen and William S. Murphy:

"You hear people say it wasn't a race riot. Let them. The average person out there in the streets knew what it was and he considered it a war. A civil revolt. That's what it was—civil revolt. At first it was against the white police. Then—not just the police, but all whites. I saw only two Negro cops all the time I was in the streets. And I was in the streets all the time. I hardly ever slept those days and nights. They should have known better. Why did they send in so many white police? . . .

"The second night, I got more involved. More and more of my friends got beaten. I got hit in the head with a billyclub. I was there when a car got burned up after the white driver got out and ran. They didn't kill him. But they beat him up real bad. I ran after him to hit him, too. But I couldn't catch up. . . ."

The cause and effect logic in this statement is strange. Here the young man complains of the

police and their "brutality," yet admits being a part of the mob and trying to beat up innocent pedestrians. But he considers it an affront that white police are trying to control his (and the mob's) anger.

In an article in the November, 1966, issue of the *Liberator,* a Negro lawyer from Sacramento, California, S. Carter McMorris, offers this explanation of the riots:

". . . the majority of Americans refuse to acknowledge that the motivating cause of the uprising was the failure of law enforcement to offer protection while at the same time it persistently visited brutality and abuse upon the Black man. In this perspective, the actions of the rioters, hopeless yet fearless, outnumbered and overwhelmed by police and military power, risking and experiencing death in their protest against injustice, partake of some of the heroism of the Colonists who were rebels and insurrectionists fighting against no greater deprivation in their time."

This is the "line" of the nationalists, extremists and Communists. The people of Watts were "rebelling" in an "uprising" and their courage against the police and military is to be praised because they were fighting for justice against superior odds. Here is more of the explanation of Mr. McMorris:

"The emotions which stirred a total community to this act of violent frustration were the result of a generation or so of police abuse of the dignity, the rights, and the feelings of the Black man. . . . Watts was the extreme reaction to extreme provacation; physical violence met with physical violence. . . ."

This remarkable essay ends with the usual "police brutality" claim: "I submit that, however

well-intentioned may be the parties involved, however extensive may be the civil rights advances, however fully the schools may be integrated, employment discrimination removed, voting rights granted, if we neglect the eroding cancer of police brutality, a social problem in its own right, the body politic of this society will continue to fester with this malignancy which must be discovered, diagnosed, and eradicated if we are to survive."

Leaving aside, for the moment, the charge that "police brutality" was the underlying cause of the Watts riot, there is a curious admission here in the pages of the *Liberator*. Mr. McMorris is not hedging but openly admitting that the Negro people in this country have made great advances in their drive for equality and civil rights. This is a vital point usually neglected by the nationalists, extremists and Communists. The Negro in the United States has made gigantic strides in this country since the abolition of slavery. And while there are still inequities and discrimination, the advancement of the Negro stands out as a vivid example of the vitality of freedom in this country.

But in Watts, the question did not relate to the advances made by the Negro citizens of this country but to the frustration over existing conditions. This frustration was spurred on by various extremist groups. Prior to the riots a number of leaflets were seen advocating resistance against police brutality.

On August 17, 1965, the Mayor of Los Angeles, Samuel W. Yorty, charged: "For some time there has existed a worldwide subversive campaign to stigmatize all police as brutal. The cry of police brutality has been shouted in cities all over the world by Communists, dupes and demagogues irrespective of the facts.

"Criminal elements have seized upon the false charges to try to excuse their lawlessness. These criminal elements seek to put the blame on the police for their own wanton attacks on the persons and property of their neighbors. These criminal elements hate the police who restrain them and protect us from them to the best of their ability. . . .

"Anyone who deliberately attempts to undermine faith in our Los Angeles Police Department is attacking the very structure of our free society and jeopardizing our safety."

According to the Los Angeles *Herald Examiner* of August 17, 1965, a "high police official reportedly informed the mayor that a meeting of a Communist-line group composed of top Reds met in Los Angeles Sunday and marked the riots as an 'excellent source of trouble for fomenting dissension and hatred of the police department.' "

During the riots, leaflets flooded the Watts area bearing a picture of the Chief of Police of Los Angeles, William H. Parker, with the following legend: "This Man Says: YOU Commit More Crime and Violence Than Anyone Else." The leaflets were distributed by the Watts Action Committee. Other leaflets calling for specific action against the police were also seen on the streets.

Since the 1965 riots the various Communist organizations have moved into the Watts area with a vengeance. An editorial in the Progressive Labor west coast newspaper, *Spark,* claimed that the PLP "also circulated thousands of leaflets demanding the arrest and punishment of the cop who murdered Leonard Deadwyler, and of Police Chief Parker, whose cops killed at least 34 times in Watts last summer."

Spark warned Mayor Yorty that he "and his class will get justice, however—people's justice." All of this violent rhetoric is similar to that espoused by the Progressive Labor group during the Harlem riots when they issued a similar poster and made equally outrageous charges against the city officials of New York.

Bill McAdoo, an official of the Progressive Labor Party, explains the Watts riots as follows:

"It is not surprising that the American people have been told nothing but lies and half-truths about the Watts rebellion of 1965—truth is a rare commodity in this country. If the facts were known concerning the magnitude and the origin of the misery in which the black people of Watts live, the mark of doom would be put on those who live by profiteering on this misery. The truth about U.S. imperialism's greatest weakness would serve as a guide to powerful mass action, which would cost the rich white imperialists a thousand times more than the $40 million property damage and international disgrace for its racist barbarism, which resulted in the police and army terror of August, 1965."

At a Progressive Labor Party meeting held in Watts on March 27, 1966, McAdoo relayed "greetings from the people of Harlem, who realize that their fight is the same as the fight of the people of Watts, all oppressed people in the United States, the people of Vietnam and the exploited nations of the world. United States imperialism is our common enemy."

The Watts riot produced a statement from the National Committee of the Progressive Labor Party. This "statement" claimed that "the uprising clearly revealed the internal weaknesses of the

paper tiger. The U.S. ruling class was forced to use the entire National Guard strength of California to occupy 120 miles of its own territory. The California uprising marked a real advance over last year in the ability of the people to resist, and forced the Johnson administration to further expose itself before the American people and the world despite 'civil rights' bills and 'leaders.' "

Progressive Labor went on to make the following outrageous demands:

"1. Arrest the nazi Police Chief Parker, Governor Brown, and Mayor Yorty and bring them to trial for murder.

"2. Disarm the criminal police and punish the guilty ones.

"3. Withdraw the occupation troops immediately.

"4. Release the 3,000 hostages [referring to those people under arrest—P.A.L.].

"5. Turn the welfare agencies into job agencies and provide jobs for all."

Following outbreaks of violence in the Watts area during the summer of 1966, John Harris, the Progressive Labor organizer in Watts, was indicted by a grand jury on a charge of "criminal syndicalism."

The black nationalists are also actively working in the Watts area. *Life Magazine* of July 15, 1966, explained that the nationalists "force moderate leaders to take harder lines in dealing with whites. Last month a key meeting of Negro groups was called by the Police Commission. When the leaders found no nationalists had been invited, they refused to discuss the business at hand. The extremists, they knew, could not put over a pro-

gram of their own. But they could wreck any program they didn't like."

The story is the same throughout the country. Every ghetto has its nationalists, extremists and Communists. All of these groups are actively working to create riot conditions. The riots in Chicago, during the summer of 1965, produced leaflets written by John Glenn, a leader of the Trotskyist group Spartacists, and a traveler to Cuba in the summer of 1963. Glenn was also an "unfriendly" witness before the House Committee On Un-American Activities in the spring of 1964.

These leaflets contended that "the people are in the right, the cops in the wrong." They went on to urge: "Throw the police out! Organize neighborhood people! Free all arrested civil rights demonstrators! Free all those jailed for 'crimes' against capitalist property!" Forty-six members of the Spartacists were arrested during the riots.

As ghetto riots spread from city to city it would be well to heed these words of Abraham Lincoln:

"Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his prosperity, swear by the blood of the Revolution, never to violate in the least particular, the laws of the country. . . . Let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father and to tear the character of his own and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother, to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap—let it be taught in schools, in seminaries and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books, and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls,

and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the Nation; and let the old and young, rich and poor, the grave and gay, of all sexes, tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars."

Chapter Four

THE COUNTER PLAN

The success of Negro uprisings throughout our nation during recent years is a glowing testimony to Communist planning and strategy.

Guided by the hand of international Communism, the Negro revolutionaries in the United States have kept their plans on schedule. By the time-honored tactics used so successfully by Marxists everywhere, radical black racists have probed the weak spots in the fabric of the American community that they so accurately diagnosed more than three decades ago. The response was as expected—defensive confusion on every front.

It would be fatal for us to let ourselves believe, as Americans customarily do, that once a crisis is past, all is well. This is what our enemy is counting on more than we realize, while his feverish pace continues. He has won the first battle, of this there is no doubt. Our ignorance has helped him beyond measure. As a recent American Bar Association statement so aptly put it, "The greatest asset the Communists have is . . . *world ignorance of their tactics, strategy and objectives.*"

For us, the period of diagnosis and recognition has passed. The urgency of the situation on the racial front demands a plan for drastic countermeasures made flexible and adaptable to the needs

of American communities, both large and small. The core of any preventive solution seems, then, to resolve itself into two major questions:

(1) What measures are available at this period to halt the momentum of the Communist racial revolution?

(2) How can we insure that these measures are enforced at the time they are needed?

From the foregoing, a sequence of questions flows:

- Can future riots in Negro areas be quickly and effectively controlled?
- Has the success of previous rehearsal riots augmented the revolutionaries' ability to expand riots?
- Are law enforcement agencies in constant touch with the latest black revolutionary plans and techniques?
- Can law enforcement agencies isolate riot areas to prevent the spread of guerrilla activity to residential and suburban areas?
- Will a sizeable number of Negroes in the United States support a guerrilla war based on racial lines?
- Could a guerrilla operation depend on help from outside the United States if the insurrection were to spread?

In order to resolve the foregoing questions in favor of the law-abiding populace, public officials must be prepared to take a series of steps, without hesitation:

(1) When a riot occurs, the ghetto must be sealed off from the rest of the community. Police, state troopers and national guard normally handle this contingency, but if they need help, the regular army must be brought into service.

(2) A curfew must be imposed in the enclosed isolated area.

(3) During the night the authorities must patrol the boundary lines, control the streets and have foot patrols throughout the entire area. If the guerrillas attempt to break out of the area or to engage the authorities in open combat, they must be suppressed.

(4) During a guerrilla uprising most civil liberties must be suspended. Search and seizure operations must be instituted during the daylight hours and anyone found armed or without proper identification immediately arrested.

(5) If the guerrillas hold out for a period of time, then the population of the ghetto must be classified through an office for the "control and organization of the inhabitants." This office will distribute "census cards" bearing a photograph of the individual, the letter of the district in which he lives, his house number, his street number and the letter designating his home city. This classification allows the authorities to know the exact location of any suspect, and who is in control of that district. Under such a system, movement is proscribed and the effectiveness of the guerrillas to move from place to place seriously curtailed.

(6) The population within the ghetto must be exhorted to work with the authorities and to report any guerrilla activities they note. The police agencies must be in a position to make immediate arrests without the warrant guarantees usually provided by the Constitution.

It should be mentioned here that the McCarran Act provides for various detention centers to be operated throughout the country, that might well

be utilized for the temporary imprisonment of guerrillas.

In February, 1965 the Federal Bureau of Investigation published a magnificent report entitled, *Prevention and Control of Mobs and Riots.* It is the best analysis and prospectus for the prevention and control of ghetto riots yet published, and is partially reproduced in the Appendix of this book. Although most of the material in the report is aimed specifically at law enforcement officials, there is also material of import to the individual citizen.

Riot control laws are expedient for every state in the Union. Citizens should demand that they be protected by such legislation if it is not already on the statute books of their own state.*

We have recommended laws, strict enforcement, and anti-riot procedures, but there is another aspect to prevention that is generally overlooked during the more urgent considerations of the ghetto crises. This aspect is just as vital and may, in the long run, provide the answer to the racial dilemma. It is the non-governmental action of numerous private individuals and groups attempting to solve ghetto problems in the traditional American way, free from government interference, and working at the grassroots level.

These individuals and groups can be the real catalysts in correcting inequities—unemployment, housing, sanitation, etc. They are becoming important factors in the elimination of these conditions, working quietly by bringing constructive action into ghetto areas where young people in particular have never before been exposed to positive character building influences. Just a few examples

*The state of California now has such a law.

of what these people are doing are given in concluding this chapter.

(1.) Since the Watts riots in Los Angeles in August, 1965, the ominous problem of unemployment in minority areas has been the subject of endless discussion, and also some notable action.

A special Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce committee enlisted business and industry to search for jobs and job training opportunities for the disadvantaged. Within three months 900 jobs had been made available to Watts residents. At last count, the number had grown to over 18,000. The successful program has become a nonprofit corporation, the Management Council for Merit Employment Training and Research, with 267 employers participating. Executives are coming to know that the challenge of dealing with minority unemployment belongs to the entire community.

(2.) Roy Smith, Jr., a 17-year-old Negro in Washington, D.C., organized "The Working Magnificents." He offers, with his friends, an after-school, year-round, odd-job service which with efficiency and dispatch cleans up yards, washes and polishes cars, cuts grass, or does whatever chores are asked. As work orders increase, so do members. "Instead of loafing around," says manager Smith, who intends to earn his way to an electronic engineer's degree, "we're meeting a real need."

(3.) A Negro public school teacher in Indianapolis believed that disadvantaged people should organize to help themselves. She started "Citizens' Forum" in 1962 by personally recruiting teachers, clergymen, businessmen, police, attorneys and city officials to organize and assist neighborhood "block clubs." The members of "Citizens' Forum" have conducted clean-up and fix-up campaigns,

have built recreation projects for children, have distributed information on health and sanitation, and have helped many people find jobs.

(4.) Late last year, U.S. Gypsum Company, one of the nation's largest building materials manufacturers, became the first major corporation to rehabilitate a slum on a large scale.

USG's operations offer a simple, economic alternative to mass demolition and public housing. It cost the company only $9,125 per unit to gut and modernize its first 24-unit building, and economies learned there will lower costs on the rest of the $1.25 million venture. In 1964 the company purchased six adjoining tenements for an experiment in low cost rehabilitation. In July of the next year, USG moved tenants from the dilapidated structure to temporary quarters on the same block, and underwrote the difference in rent. Five months later they moved most of the original families back to the rejuvenated building. The new rents averaged $65 to $85 monthly.

This kind of independent effort, requiring the collaboration of builders, financial interests and nonprofit groups, like churches, has great promise.

(5.) Baltimore landlord Howard Offitt has hired social worker Jan Mathieu, 30, to fight poverty by working with 135 families where income is low and tenant turnover high. A three story building has become Echo House, where a board of 18 neighborhood men and women pool ideas to upgrade skills and find jobs. Offitt's private social worker investment is paying off: property values have gone up, vacancies have decreased. "But the untranslatable profits," he says, "are the new sense of pride and stability of the tenants."

(6) Lawyer, John Kottis has created a 13-

apartment complex in Uxbridge, Mass., costing $14-15 per square foot, compared with a nearby public housing project which cost the taxpayers $35 per square foot. Kottis' Patrick Henry Apartments—named for his Revolutionary War hero—have two bedrooms; the government's have only one—a small area divided from the living space. The lower cost apartments are more attractive than the federal project; the rent is only slightly higher; and the complex pays taxes instead of being subsidized by the taxpayers.

(7.) In Indianapolis, Cleo Blackburn set out to help Negro residents renew a slum. He organized slum-dwellers into teams, and together they built hundreds of houses. He got the banks to lend future home-owners money for land and materials, counting the value added by their own labor ("sweat equity") as the down payment. He persuaded a foundation to pay the small cost of a technical center to coach the men how to use the technical methods of Indiana's prefabricated housing industry —so they could use their unskilled labor to build houses. They've renewed the face and spirit of the community. (From: *If I'm Elected, I Will . . .*, by Richard Cornuelle)*

With the vast amount of agitation for "civil rights" in this country and the constant campaign for further Negro rights, the gains that Negroes have made in the past few years are often overlooked or ignored. Yet, in no other country in the world has a minority of people made such rapid gains. And while it might be argued that the American Negro has not gained all of his constitutional rights, some perspective will show that the Negro

* Richard Cornuelle, Publisher, 155 East 72nd St., New York, N.Y. 10021.

today is certainly making considerable progress.

Today, Negroes are represented in the United States Cabinet and on the Federal Reserve Board. Two postmasters are Negroes (Cleveland and Los Angeles), six are U.S. ambassadors and sixteen are Federal judges. The U.S. Office of Education has recently noted that Negroes generally have "newer schools" and "newer textbooks" than their white counterparts. There are presently over 225,000 Negroes in college.

Negro income has risen 24% since 1946 while white income has only increased 14%. One in five Negroes earn more than $7,000 a year; nine out of ten families own one (or more) televisions; two-thirds have automatic washers and one half of the Negro population own their own cars. There are over 50,000 Negroes in business for themselves and there are over forty Negro millionaires. The number of Negroes in the professional and technical fields has risen 130% in a decade. Since 1950 the number of Negro lawyers has increased 50%.

There are now 7,747,000 Negro jobholders while in 1957 there were only 6,721,000. And while Negroes only constitute 10% of the population they hold 23% of the city jobs in New York City, 30% of the city jobs in Cleveland and 40% of the city jobs in Philadelphia.

Anyway you look at it, the Negro in the United States has made great gains in the past few years.

While hard-core racial revolutionaries are working in the Negro ghettos of America with every device from the well-stocked Communist arsenal to promote the destruction of our heritage, other equally dedicated individuals are working from the opposite basis—to preserve and expand this heritage by applying the unique values of the

American arsenal of ideals to a long-neglected scene.

The promotion and sale of American ideals is the only key to progress and harmony on the racial front. If the Communists can confuse our sense of values long enough to capture the assets in the American arsenal, they will have won an unparalleled victory. Let us all work to promote the unique American system with vigilance and dedication equal to that of our enemies, so that they will win no more battles on the racial or any other front in our nation.

APPENDIX

A PORTION OF THE FBI REPORT ON "PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF MOBS AND RIOTS"

In view of the chronic nature of social tensions, it is obvious that the potential for violence is widespread and ever present. No community is really immune. Failure to anticipate such situations is a serious indictment of a law enforcement executive. Plans must be made in advance. Officers must know what is expected of them—how they are to act and what they are to do. Plans must be set up for prompt mobilization of forces including adequate reserves. Cooperation among law enforcement agencies must be arranged. Tactics must be devised and drilled. Equipment must be obtained and periodically checked. Lines of communication, signals, commands, reporting systems, and the like must be worked out in advance.

If law enforcement authorities issue firm and decisive warnings that violence will not be permitted regardless of the merits of the contentions on either side, one of the biggest and most important steps of all will have been taken. Most of the people in the community, even most of those who might actively participate in a riot once it started, will agree in advance that rioting and other civil disturbances are profitless and should not be permitted. In other words, most of the people in the community will support the police in a strong and resolute stand against open hostility.

A public attitude of this kind must be prepared well in advance and it must be constantly reinforced through periodic repetition. If people are indoctrinated along these lines, in times of crisis there will be, on the one hand, support for the police from the true and influential leaders of the community and, on the other hand, a hesitancy on the part of people generally to join in the fray. This support and hesitancy may be all the police need to give them time to swing into action and effectively quell any developing disorder before it gets out of hand.

If it becomes necessary to issue orders under actual mob or riot conditions, the orders must be given firmly in an authoritative manner. The officer issuing the orders must get into a position where he can easily be seen and should use amplifying equipment so his voice can be heard above the tumult. He must command the attention of the crowd, give clear and simple orders, and repeat them as necessary. The orders should be backed up with a show of force, but the orders should never threaten anything which the authorities are incapable of carrying through.

To remove the leaders is to strike at the heart of the disorder. A leaderless group is a bewildered and confused group which does not function effectively. The leaders, who would ordinarily supply the initiative, the rallying symbols, and the sustaining force of the emotional enthusiasm, should be taken in hand and restrained. And, like a fire from which the fuel has been cut off, the violence will generally subside.

Breaking the group up into ever smaller units has the effect of reducing the stimulus provided by social contagion or social facilitation. It also reduces the impressions of universality and anonymity which are so important in mob functioning.

In removing the leaders, militant agitators on both sides should be objects of police attention. In any event, it is those who are *creating* the disturbance who should be repressed.

In many cases, a strong stand backed up by an impressive show of force may be all that is required.

Remember, however, that a false move by a poorly trained officer may start the riot. Officers who participate in putting on a show of force must be well disciplined so that they follow orders to the letter, stand firm in the face of abuse and do not lose their heads. The law enforcement authority, obviously, must be ready, if necessary, to apply sufficient force to promptly overcome resistance. Well-disciplined men, properly uniformed and equipped, quickly and efficiently taking their posts in a purposeful and determined manner, will discourage many would-be rioters.

Identify and record the names and activities of the hotheads, demagogues, psychopaths, and others who could be the leaders in starting a civil disturbance. Keep a sensitive ear open to rumors. Be aware of the symbols in the community that serve as psychological rallying points for the different groups. These symbols might be a place such as a church or school; they might be a special time such as the birthday of a revered leader or the anniversary of the death of one who is now considered a martyr. Such symbols can become the focal point of action on the part of opposing groups.

The actual equipment needed is more properly part of a consideration of tactics and will be considered later. In this context, the resources referred to are human and legal. Know the people in the community on whom you can depend. Enlist the aid of responsible community leaders. Above all, know your officers. Know which ones are level-headed and objective enough to control any prejudice under stressful circumstances.

The law enforcement executive can change public attitudes through education and, in the interest of crime prevention and public order, he has an obligation to do so.

It is possible to indoctrinate people so that they will not oppose legal force with any significant resistance. People, after all, can be convinced of the reasonableness of a course of action.

One of the first planning steps with regard to the

control of possible civil disturbances and riots is the enlistment of the support and aid of the community. An informed community is the surest and best guarantee of attaining this community support. Since the law enforcement agency is the servant of all the people, an advance accounting of proper stewardship will build the necessary community good will and confidence which is so necessary in time of crisis. If the people can be brought to realize that the law enforcement officials are doing the best job humanly possible in the day-to-day performance of their responsibilities, then the presumption of right action and proper conduct will be foremost in the minds of the citizenry when adverse criticism arises. It should be evident that, in the area of human relations and community interest, responsible police officials must affirmatively and positively state their case if they are to avoid later explanations from a defensive posture. Affirmative action can alleviate misunderstanding and can dispel false charges and accusations before they become so widespread and publicized that they are difficult to correct.

In order to implement a police-community relations program it is necessary that definite policies be established by police officials. These policies must be made known throughout the organization and it must be clear that support is intended and expected. While the need will vary from agency to agency, it is important that community good will be fostered at all levels from the agency policy level down through each division and precinct level, including each individual police officer in the daily performance of his duties. It should be recognized that community problems may have a variety of solutions and that they are generally more easily settled at the level where they first occur.

The law enforcement agency must satisfy the community that it has established adequate procedures to prevent unfairness and excessive use of force, and that it will impartially investigate all complaints and take remedial action where necessary and justified. Each citizen must be convinced that the local law enforcement officers are interested in protecting the persons,

property and legal rights of *all* citizens in the community.

A. *Objectives of Police-Community Relations Program*
   1. To interest citizens in law enforcement activities and acquaint them with the jurisdiction, responsibilities, and services of the police agency.
   2. To adequately portray law enforcement as an integral part of the community.
   3. To encourage the public to cooperate and assume responsibility for law and order.
   4. To clearly establish the need for the performance of police tasks and make them easier.
   5. To create an atmosphere for community pride and respect for its police agency.
   6. To foster and increase police professionalism through pride and satisfaction in the performance of duties.
   7. To develop public understanding concerning police problems.
   8. To assist in attracting better recruits for law enforcement.

B. *Basis for Good Public Relations*
   1. Recognition of Need
   2. Selection of Personnel
      a. A responsible and loyal employee is the most valuable asset of any organization. The needs of each position should be carefully considered and the qualifications predetermined. The following should be considered in selecting a police officer: education, physical fitness, character, intelligence, attitude, appearance, courtesy, maturity, personality, poise, assurance, tact, experience, and prior training.
      b. Only those meeting highest standards should be selected for public service.
      c. In making selections, remember the duties

to be performed, the expectations of the community, and the efficiency of the organization.

3. Training of Personnel
   a. Employee training is an essential ingredient of efficiency.
   b. Effective police training is characteristic of a successful law enforcement agency.
   c. Training is a method of assimilating accumulated knowledge. It is a process by which minds, talents, and skills are developed. It is the basis of progress and efficiency.
   d. Highly trained personnel devise methods of achieving efficiency and economy.
   e. Problems of law enforcement become more complex each year. The techniques are constantly changing; thus training must be a continuing activity.
4. Conduct of Personnel
   a. Conduct is an outward manifestation of character. People and the organizations they represent are judged on the basis of conduct.
   b. Impressions based on personal contacts are most important. The citizen's impression of the officer will determine to a large extent what he thinks of the department. Make it a favorable one.
   c. Police officials agree that the best medium of public relations is the officer who conducts himself efficiently and conscientiously.
   d. Citizens view police officers as symbols of law and order.
   e. Conduct has many ramifications.
      (1) Attitude—determine whether the officer wants and strives for good impressions.
      (2) Courtesy—essence of good public relations and a quality most desired of police officers.
      (3) Cooperation—a part of good conduct.

It is essential in every phase of life.

(4) Community spirit
Citizens expect their law enforcement officers to take part in community affairs. Participation in community functions is an excellent medium for the alert officer to create good will.

(5) Church activity, more than any other wholesome interest, enhances character.

(6) Fairness—a respect for the rights of others.

5. Good Relations Within Your Organization.
Good management develops talents suited to duties performed and tries to maintain high morale among employees.

6. Appearance.
Appearance is a key factor in making a good impression.

7. Good Community Services.
The protection of rights, property and public welfare encompasses a wide sphere of activity. Good service to the community in all matters creates good will.

8. Good Housekeeping and Maintenance of Equipment.
Citizens expect good housekeeping in public buildings and in tax-supported agencies. Good housekeeping and proper maintenance of equipment stimulate efficiency.

9. Efficiency of Operations.
Efficiency is accomplishing a task thoroughly in the shortest time possible with the least wasted effort. Efficiency is characteristic of the successful organization.

10. Good Administration.
Good administration recognizes well-trained, skilled and appropriately motivated personnel as future leaders and seeks to train and develop these talents. Proper discipline produces necessary coordination, cohesiveness, and dedication to objectives.

C. *Liaison with the Press, Radio and Television*

The press, radio and television make an essential contribution to the community in furnishing newsworthy information. It is the duty of law enforcement to furnish accurate information concerning those items which the public is entitled to know.

1. Every effort should be made to develop a climate of mutual trust in order that the best interests of the community may be served.
2. Endeavor to establish a working agreement with news media and if, at any time, information must be withheld, furnish an explanation for the action taken.
3. If a misquote appears or if a story or news item is slanted to reflect unfavorably upon the police agency, immediate steps should be taken to correct this matter.
4. Some departments centralize responsibility for press releases and answers to press inquiries. The head of the agency or supervisory officer may handle this function. While there may be some objections, this method prevents premature leaks, prevents favoritism, and prevents contradictory or inaccurate disclosures. This, of course, remains a matter for individual consideration.

D. *Education and Recreational Programs for Young People*

1. Reasons for These Programs
   a. America has an aggravated juvenile crime problem. Prevention instead of correction is desired.
   b. Youthful criminality is the training school for adult crime.
   c. In some mob and riot situations, juveniles account for a considerable portion of the more violent participants.
2. The Role of Law Enforcement
   a. Where youth recreation is adequate, police can fulfill an important duty in preventing crime through youth recreational

functions. These functions can eliminate conditions which may lead to youthful criminality.

b. Some police agencies initiate special programs to occupy idle time and promote good citizenship.

c. Youth recreational programs are of such recognized value to public welfare that many police officers now work with such groups.

E. *Liaison with Minority Groups*

In order to be aware of all community desires and problems, a good public relations program will not only include the population in general but also minority groups. Benefits of liaison with such groups are as follows:

1. Establishes a communications line for the airing of complaints and the enlistment of support.
2. Presents an opportunity to find out basic community problems and efforts which might be undertaken to correct them.
3. Furnishes the information necessary to establish policy for the handling of anticipated problems.
4. Furnishes the law enforcement agency with a cross section of community opinions and interests.

Serious civil disturbances and mob violence rarely occur without warning. Alert law enforcement authorities, by studying the signs and symptoms, will know that trouble is brewing. They will have time, therefore, to put their plans into operation. Advanced planning involves, as one of the most important aspects, thorough indoctrination and training of the officers. An officer needs a working knowledge of mob and riot control prior to the time he has to undertake such duty.

The law enforcement officer of today must receive training, not only as to his individual conduct in a riot situation, but also as to his conduct as a member of a riot control unit. The officer must be thoroughly

conversant with the department's long-range plans for controlling disturbances and the part he plays in them so that he will have confidence in his ability to effectively carry out his assignments. He must know his authority and its limits. He must know what legal tools are available to him and when to use them.

Plans for mob control must incorporate the same basic elements as a plan for an arrest or a raid: Speed, Simplicity and Surprise. To these we add in an arrest or raid situation: Safety and Superiority. Obviously these are difficult to achieve when facing an excited, angry mob.

As in an arrest, only sufficient force necessary to overcome the resistance should be used. Determination, calmness and common sense are vital. Training must be given with consideration for local problems which are factors in the particular area. The type of training afforded officers in one location may not be the most effective for another locale.

Each man should receive intensive training with the equipment he may be assigned to use in a riot situation. Practice in the techniques of using a baton or riot stick, both as an individual and as a member of a squad, should be given to the officers. Officers should be drilled in the use of the gas mask, not only to insure that they know how to wear it effectively, but also to give them the opportunity to become aware of the practical physical problems they face when wearing it, such as limited vision and breathing encountered while conducting their assignments.

Sufficient time should be spent on riot formation squad drills so that there will be no confusion when these formations are used during an actual riot. These formations can be effective only when the squad members are so well trained that they can move with speed and efficiency from one formation to another. They should receive training in the art of communication, specifically with portable radio equipment which would be most valuable during a riot. Officers should be trained in the use of all auxiliary equipment and should be thoroughly indoctrinated in agency policy concerning the use of their service weapons in a riot situation.

Informative lectures should be given to the officers concerning the composition of mobs and the basic elements of mob action. The officers then will have an insight into the strong and weak points in a mob and will be better able to comprehend what faces them and how they can deal effectively with the problem.

The first consideration in any basic, long-range plan for handling mob violence is complete, detailed training of the men who are to put it into operation. The plan must be sufficiently comprehensive and flexible as to be adapted to all tactical situations that are likely to arise. Such flexibility permits effective deployment of well-trained men at the scene in the light of unexpected variations that may be encountered.

It is obviously impossible to recommend any specific training course that will suffice for all departments. There are certain criteria, however, which would serve as guidelines for the law enforcement executive or training officer in devising an adequate course. The first step would be formulation of the major objectives of the training. Next, the curriculum should be developed with careful consideration being given to both subject matter and method of teaching. Finally, some provision should be worked out for evaluating the results of the training.

The major objectives of the training should include at least the following:

1. Greater understanding of the sociological, cultural, and psychological factors underlying the development and actions of mobs.
2. Development of an effective functioning unit which can be quickly mobilized to prevent or control outbreaks of violence.

The law enforcement executive should satisfy himself that the answers to the following questions are affirmative with respect to his training course:

1. Does the training given offer a good understanding of the psychology of the formation and behavior of mobs?
2. Does each man have a clear understanding of the department's over-all plans for preventing and controlling violence?
3. Is each man proficient in operating the equip-

ment available for use in these situations?
4. Does each man know his specific assignment and how to carry it out?
5. Are there trained alternates available for all key positions?
6. Is each man so well-drilled that he can function without error as a member of a team in the various formations?
7. Has each man been thoroughly indoctrinated so he will not breach discipline or lose his head and provoke violence?
8. Does each man know what legal weapons he has available—the statutes and ordinances under which he can take action?

A comprehensive plan for handling violent mobs and controlling riotous conduct is indispensable. The law enforcement executive should make his plans conform to the psychological nature of the situation. He should take into account the various psychological factors which influence the behavior of demonstrators. The executive should bear in mind that effective action applied at psychologically propitious places and times is likely to be more effective than indiscriminate application of brute force. In fact, injudicious use of force will more than likely aggravate matters and result in rapid deterioration of law enforcement control. Certain of the psychological factors influencing mob behavior are set out below, together with suggested countermeasures

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS	*SUGGESTED COUNTERMEASURES*
RUMORS	TRUTH
The circulation of vicious rumors is an important factor in converting anger and hatred into violent action.	Through various media of public communication, such as the newspaper, the radio, or television, only the truth should be told. Care must be exercised to see to it that unsubstantiated rumors are not spread

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS	*SUGGESTED COUNTERMEASURES*
	through these media. Many people who might be willing to believe almost anything will become firmly convinced of the truth of even the wildest rumors if they learn of them through these media of public communication.
SUGGESTION Many people are suggestible under the influence of the excitement of a mob. They are willing to follow uncritically the lead of a demagogue or even some rabid mob member.	ORDERS AND INSTRUCTIONS Through a program of public education properly conducted in advance, it is possible to plant in the minds of many people suggestions for proper social conduct which will act as deterrents to the suggestions of the mob leader. Also, during the disturbance itself, the law enforcement executive can plant countersuggestions through a public address system and through selected officers stationed among the crowd. These countersuggestions even if not fully accepted by the mob members, will have the effect of creating wavering and uncertainty.
ANONYMITY AND UNIVERSALITY Many persons hesitate to join in the fracas until they feel that it is safe to do so because there are so	DISPERSAL The way to destroy the feeling of anonymity and universality is to disperse the mob so that people will not get the feeling

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS	*SUGGESTED COUNTERMEASURES*
many others involved that they will not be individually identifiable. In other words, they are like automatons; they lose their identity. This gives such persons a false courage.	that they are hidden by large numbers of others. The use of photography is also helpful.
SOCIAL CONTAGION AND IMITATION Most people have a tendency to imitate the behavior of others in a social situation. As we all know, excitement is contagious. When there is something unusual going on, there is a tendency for more and more people to gather. The unusual, the novel, the exciting events attract people.	BREAK UP THE CROWD Again, the countermeasure effective here is to break up the large crowd into smaller and smaller units.
LEADERSHIP In many mob situations there is a leader, sometimes more than one. These people whip up the frenzy of the mob by haranguing them.	ARREST One of the best ways of controlling a crowd which is engaging in or threatening illegal action is to remove the leaders from the scene. There is no use trying to argue with them. This is not a time for debate, it is a time for action.
UNCONTROLLED VIOLENCE If the situation has deteriorated to the point where taunts, jeers, epithets, and threats seem	SHOW OF FORCE In many cases a determined show of force will keep the situation from getting completely out of hand. Such a show of

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS	*SUGGESTED COUNTERMEASURES*
likely to erupt momentarily into physical violence and bloodshed, the situation calls for immediate strong handling.	force must be convincing. The mob members must be able to see for themselves that the law enforcement forces are in a position to contain them. If the show of force does not work, then the law enforcement personnel must be ready, willing, and able to take whatever physical countermeasures the situation demands.

* * *

Every civil disorder or riot is brought about by previously existing factors. The build-up may or may not be apparent and may or may not have had a legitimate beginning. Whatever the background, it should be apparent that the atmosphere which contributes to a riotous situation develops over a period of time and many factors are often involved. In the final analysis, the most effective method of preventing riot and mob situations is to eliminate conditions which could lead to friction and misunderstanding ultimately to violence and lawlessness.

II. CROWDS AND THEIR BEHAVIOR

Law enforcement agencies, from time to time, face dangerously explosive situations. The recent Federal and state laws in the field of civil rights have in some areas produced resentment, resistance, and sometimes retaliation. The resulting dissatisfactions and disagreements are sometimes so fraught with bitterness that tensions build up to the boiling point. The changes in social structure and cultural values are perceived by many misguided persons as threats to their well-being and to their way of life. Occasionally they react violently. . . .

A. *Nature of Crowds*

There are many ways of classifying crowds. For example, they could be grouped according to size, but size is not usually the most significant factor. They could be grouped according to sex, race, religion, political beliefs, or in many other ways, but these would not be useful classifications for our purpose. The factors of interest to law enforcement are the behavior and motivation of the people. In other words, we are most concerned with what they are doing and why. For our purpose, then, the following types of crowds may be distinguished.

1. *Casual crowd.* The usual crowd is merely a group of people who happen to be present at a given place but who are not unified or organized. The people in a casual crowd are bent on their individual ways. They do not have a common interest or purpose and they are not following any particular leader.
2. *Cohesive crowd.* This is a group of people who are assembled for some specific purpose. An audience attending a play or a concert, or the fans at a sporting event, constitute a cohesive crowd. They are held together by a common interest. Their attention is directed toward some common focus. In most cases the interest that brought them together is momentary and they are usually not under well-defined leadership. . . .
3. *Expressive crowd.* This is a group in which the people are held together by some common purpose. They usually hold more or less similar attitudes for or against something. They are ordinarily under the direction of well-defined leadership. It is characteristic of this type of crowd to display a more or less unified mood. Their likes and dislikes, their loyalties, their desires and intentions are normally quite easily seen. Examples of the expressive crowd are found at a political rally, a picket line, and a religious revival. . . .
4. *Aggressive crowd.* In this type of crowd the people, under positive leadership and strong

emotions, engage in some kind of aggressive action. Ordinarily these people have come together because of strong feelings about some issue and show definite unity of purpose. Their actions may be impulsive and highly emotional and, unfortunately, may become destructive. This type of crowd is the most difficult for police to handle.

The aggressive crowd is, at the same time, expressive and cohesive. Thus, we can see that the above classification provides a progression in which the police problems increase as each step is reached.

B. *Basic Behavior Patterns in Mobs*

Students of mob behavior identify several basic patterns into which the actions of the mob members fall. These classifications are not necessarily intended to be mutually exclusive or all inclusive. There may be combinations of these behavior patterns or others observed in many mob situations. The general behavior patterns include those listed below:

1. *Aggressive.* Aggressive tendencies show up in the actions of members of a lynch mob or in the violent clashes between strikers and strike breakers. Similar aggressive behavior may be seen in juvenile "rumbles." The objective of the violence differs, of course, with the situation. . . .
2. *Escape.* The behavior tendency involving escape is seen in panic situations. Escape behavior is predominant in the members of a crowd of people in panic at a fire or other disaster. Individuals driven by overwhelming fear react emotionally and irrationally to avoid the source of danger. This behavior is often maladaptive because the people act blindly and do not take time to figure out the best way to avoid the danger. The escape behavior of a panic often ruthlessly disregards the welfare of others in the crowd, each individual takes a "me first" attitude. Panic behavior occurs in a situation where the people have no pre-

pared response with which to meet the emergency. . . .

3. *Acquisitive.* In some mobs, the main purpose of the emotional and irrational behavior seems to be the acquiring of some desired object. Law enforcement officials have observed that what starts out in some cases as a riot soon changes into a wild and uncontrolled looting spree. Other examples of acquisitive behavior would be a run on a bank and hunger riots.
4. *Expressive.* The behavior of people in certain highly emotionally charged situations is not any of the foregoing, but, rather, simply expressive. The behavior of persons attending conventions is sometimes the expressive type. It is seen also on occasions of great revelry. This kind of behavior apparently provides a release for pent-up emotions and an escape from the dull routine of the workaday world. Religious revivals, carnivals, county fairs, jazz festivals, parades, wild parties and orgies all may contain elements of expressive behavior. . . .

C. *The People Involved*

It is obviously important to anyone concerned with crowd behavior to consider the kinds of people involved and how they may behave. The following types of persons may be found at the mob scene:

1. *Impulsive and lawless persons* whose mob behavior is not unlike the behavior they exhibit in their ordinary daily lives. The people are short-tempered and hotheaded, the kind that are always spoiling for a fight. They need only a fancied insult or a slight provocation to excite them to violence. They start the riot or incite others to violence. Many of them are ignorant, bigoted, and of low social status.
2. *Suggestible persons* who are easily influenced to follow the lead of the more violent. They get into the action early.
3. *Cautious individuals* who would like to get into the fracas but who wait for the cloak of

anonymity to give them courage by hiding their identity.

4. *Yielders*—those who hang back on the side lines and do not join the action until the large number of persons participating gives the impression of universality. In other words, "Everyone is taking part, so why shouldn't I?"

   Another kind of yielder is the person who opposes violence, but only passively or half-heartedly. When the fighting starts, he yields even though opposed.
5. *Supportive persons*—those who do not actively join the mob but who enjoy the show and even shout encouragement.
6. *Resisters*—those whose values and standards of judgment are not swayed by the emotional frenzy of the mob, who maintain level heads, and who disagree with the actions of the majority.
7. *Psychopathic individuals*—there are some individuals with a pathological personality structure who might be part of a mob. They are people who are angry at the world, because of frustrations or mental illness, who could use the riotous situation as a means of getting even with society. . . .

III. THE RIOT PATTERN

A. *The Pattern of Preparation*

Whenever a civil disturbance or riot occurs, there are always certain factors or developments which have prepared the way.

1. Verbal aggression may have existed for a long time and with increasing intensity.
2. Economic frustration and dissatisfaction with status, coupled with a gradually changing social organization, have resulted in increasing irritation.
3. Like-minded people band together in various kinds of groups. . . .

4. Some kind of provocation triggers the violence. . . .
5. Isolated cases of violent aggression occur. . . .
6. Full-scale rioting begins when one or two of these isolated clashes take hold and instigate mob action. . . .

We must bear in mind that frustration breeds aggression on the part of any group. A frustrated minority may resort to aggression just as a frustrated majority group may. . . .

IV. SYMPTOMS TO WHICH POLICE MUST BE ALERT

Before getting to the symptoms, however, we should note that they will be displayed more plainly in the behavior of certain kinds of people. If an officer wants to learn about the criminal activities of someone, say a jewel thief, he does not seek the information from school-teachers or the clergy. Similarly, one does not look for the symptoms of a riot by observing the behavior of persons attending a weekly meeting of service clubs. The pulse of social circulation, like the heartbeat, must be taken at the pressure points. In this case, it is the temper of the most rabid of our people we must observe and give constant analytical attention. What they think and what they do with their time will probably be more important as a barometer than the feelings and actions of more stable individuals. Also, we must be constantly alert to the activities and exhortations of the demagogues, or self-important "loudmouths," and the like.

Law enforcement officers, in order to remain abreast of the situation, in order to be adequately prepared, and in order to be in a position to apply effective countermeasures at the right time and places, should have definite programs for noting and analyzing developments in the following areas:

A. *Increased Bitterness as Shown in:*

1. *Sentiments and opinions of the populace.* Sentiments are our true feelings toward an

issue. Opinions are verbal expressions of sentiments. This distinction is useful to law enforcement officers. If we remember that an opinion expressed by a person is merely what he says about his feelings, we can be more realistic in appraising them. An expressed opinion might be an accurate reflection of a person's true feelings or it might be shaded somewhat by the person's ideas of what he thinks he really should say. In other words, people are often unwilling to reveal their true feelings or sentiments. . . .

Nevertheless, when people, particularly the more rabid ones, begin to express themselves with less restraint, more vociferously, and with increasing bitterness, law enforcement officers should take note, for this is one of the danger signs. Telltale signs can often be found in the language used. Deprecating catchwords and phrases become more frequent and more derogatory. A noticeable testiness develops in the use of such terms which previously may have been employed in a somewhat jocular tone.

2. *Rumors.* The circulation of rumors is one of the most reliable indicators of the temper of times.
3. *Publications.* The press, tracts, pamphlets, etc., will frequently give indication of the mounting tension. The headlines become more strident. The language used becomes more and more exaggerated. . . .
4. *Public demonstrations.* Meetings, rallies, marches, and even scribblings on sidewalks, billboards, and the like should be watched carefully by law enforcement authorities. Such affairs not only indicate the saliency of the attitudes of the participants, but also the intensity and direction of the attitudes. . . .

STATEMENT SUPPORTING THE AMERICAN NEGROES IN THEIR JUST STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION BY U.S. IMPERIALISM

August 8, 1963

Mao Tse-tung

An American Negro leader now taking refuge in Cuba, Mr. Robert Williams, the former President of the Monroe, North Carolina, Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, has twice this year asked me for a statement in support of the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination. On behalf of the Chinese people, I wish to take this opportunity to express our resolute support for the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.

There are more than 19 million Negroes in the United States, or about 11 per cent of the total population. They are enslaved, oppressed and discriminated against—such is their position in society. The overwhelming majority are deprived of their right to vote. In general, only the most backbreaking and despised jobs are open to them. Their average wages are barely a third or a half those of the white people. The proportion of unemployment among the Negroes is the highest. In many states they are forbidden to go to the same school, eat at the same table, or travel in the same section of a bus or train as the white people. Negroes are often arrested, beaten up or murdered at will by the U.S. authorities at various levels and by members

of the Ku Klux Klan and other racists. About half the American Negroes are concentrated in eleven southern states, where the discrimination and persecution they suffer are especially shocking.

The American Negroes are awakening and their resistance is growing stronger and stronger. Recent years have witnessed a continuous expansion of their mass struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.

In 1957 the Negro people in Little Rock, Arkansas, waged a fierce struggle against the barring of their children from public schools. The authorities used armed force against them, creating the Little Rock incident which shocked the world.

In 1960 Negroes in more than twenty states held "sit-in" demonstrations protesting against racial segregation in local restaurants, shops and other public places.

In 1961 the Negroes launched the "freedom riders" campaign to oppose racial segregation in public transportation, a campaign which rapidly spread to many states.

In 1962 the Negroes in Mississippi fought for the equal right to enroll in colleges and met with bloody suppression by the authorities.

This year, the American Negroes started their struggle early in April in Birmingham, Alabama. Unarmed and bare-handed Negro people were arrested en masse and most barbarously suppressed merely for holding meetings and parades against racial discrimination. On June 12 Mr. Medgar Evers, a leader of the Negro people in Mississippi, was murdered in cold blood. Defying brutality and violence, the indignant Negro masses waged their struggle even more heroically and quickly won the support of Negroes and other people of various strata throughout the United States. A gigantic and vigorous nationwide struggle is going on in nearly every city and state, and the struggle is mounting. American Negro organizations have decided to start a "freedom march" on Washington on August 28, in which 250,000 people will take part.

The speedy development of the struggle of the American Negroes is a manifestation of sharpening

class struggle and sharpening national struggle within the United States; it has been causing increasing anxiety among U.S. ruling circles. The Kennedy Administration is insidiously using dual tactics. On the one hand, it continues to connive at and take part in discrimination against Negroes and their persecution, and it even sends troops to suppress them. On the other hand, in the attempt to numb the fighting will of the Negro people and deceive the masses of the country, the Kennedy Administration is parading as an advocate of "the defence of human rights" and "the protection of the civil rights of Negroes," calling upon the Negro people to exercise "restraint" and proposing the "civil rights legislation" to Congress. But more and more Negroes are seeing through these tactics of the Kennedy Administration. The fascist atrocities of the U.S. imperialists against the Negro people have exposed the true nature of so-called American democracy and freedom and revealed the inner link between the reactionary policies pursued by the U.S. Government at home and its policies of aggression abroad.

I call on the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie and other enlightened persons of all colours in the world, whether white, black, yellow or brown, to unite to oppose the racial discrimination practised by U.S. imperialism and support the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination. In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle. Among the whites in the United States, it is only the reactionary ruling circles who oppress the Negro people. They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white people. At present, it is the handful of imperialists headed by the United States, and their supporters, the reactionaries in the different countries, who are oppressing, committing aggression against and menacing the overwhelming majority of the nations and peoples of the world. We are in the majority and they are in the minority. At most, they make up less than 10 per cent of the 3,000 million

population of the world. I am firmly convinced that, with the support of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and throve with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people.

NOTE: We reprint this statement in commemoration of the third anniversary of the day Chairman Mao made it.—*Peking Review Ed.*

INDEX

INDEX

Africa, Communist Nations of, 64
Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam, 83
Afro-American Student Movement, 83
Alabama, 86
Alabama Legislature, 63, 94
  Biennial Report, 63-64
Alexander, Franklin, 122
Algeria, 51, 95
Allen, Ivan, 97
Allen, James, 19
American Bar Association Journal, 116, 131
Anderson, Vivian, 110
anti-semitism, 49
Aptheker, Herbert, 42, 44
Armstrong, Richard, 93
"Arson and Old Lace," 47
Atlanta, 22, 97, 99
Attorney General of U.S., 122

Babu, Muhammad, 81
Baldwin, James, 49
BAND, 83
Bandung world, 32
Bart, Connie, 121
Bart, Phil, 121
Bayer, Mike, 121
Bedford-Stuyvesant, 72
Belgium, 106
Ben Bella, 51
Berkeley, Calif., 98
Birmingham, Ala., 163
Black America, 29, 43, 79
"Black Art," 49
"Black Arts" theatre workshop, 49-50
Blackburn, Cleo, 137
Black Flag, The, 43
Black Liberation, 45
Black Liberation Front, 69, 73, 80
Black Liberation Movement, 22, 45
Black Muslims, 50, 53-58, 100
Black Nationalists, 119
Black Nation of Islam, 57
Black Panther Party, 62, 69, 70
Black Power, 22, 60-63, 85, 97, 98-99, 120
Blacks Against Native Dying (BAND), 83
Black United Front, 83
Bond, Julian, 100
Boston, 71
Boston University, 55
Brooklyn, 22, 72
Brown, Pat, 128
Buchanan, John, 121-122
Buffalo Committee for Afro-American Freedom, 74
Burn, Baby, Burn, 123

Cambodia, 65
Carmichael, Stokely, 58, 60-63, 65, 85, 87, 95, 97-100
Castro, Fidel, 9
Centerville, Ill., 54

"Chairman-in-Exile" of RAM, 27-29, 79. *See also* William, Robert F.
Challenge, 106, 108-109
Chamberlain, John, 3
Chambers, Whittaker, 3
Che Guevara, 32, 34-35
Chicago, 22, 23, 37, 42, 53, 54, 63, 71, 72, 86, 98, 129
Chinese Communist International, 64, 105-106
Chinese in America, 17
"Chinese Story the White Press Wouldn't Print, The," 52
Citizens' Forum (Indianapolis), 135
Clarke, John Hendrik, 52
Clay, Cassius, 51
Cleveland, 22, 86, 138
Cleveland grand jury report, 24-25, 71, 115, 117-122
Cleveland riots, 23, 24, 62, 71, 98, 115, 117-122
COBRA, 83
COFO, 64
Cohen, Jerry, 123
Collier, Robert, 80
Columbia University, 51
"Committee for Special Medical Aid to Cuba," 96
Communist International, 21
Communist Party of Ohio, 120
Communist Party U.S.A. (CPUSA), 19-23, 64, 83, 95, 96, 105, 106, 107, 122
Communist Youth Party, 121
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), 60, 64, 65-68, 85, 103
Cook, DuBois, 46
CORE. *See* Congress of Racial Equality
Cornuelle, Richard, 137
Correspondence, 69
CPUSA. *See* Communist Party USA
CPUSA—Marxist-Leninist Party, 83-85
Crabb, Clarence, 109-110
Crusader, The, 76
Cuba, 33, 34, 35, 37, 51, 64, 71, 73, 75, 77, 80, 91, 101, 106, 129
Culkin, Judge, 109
Cuyahoga County Grand Jury Report. *See* Cleveland grand jury report.

Daley, Richard J., 72
Davidow, Mike, 121
Davis, Ossie, 49
Deacons for Defense, 71, 86-87, 119
Deadwyler, Leonard, 126
Dennis, Eugene, 19
Detroit, 22, 54, 69, 71, 80, 86
Dubois Clubs. *See* W.E.B. Dubois Clubs

Eastland, James, 95
Echo House, 136
Eisman, Bernard, 53-54
Enraged Mothers of Harlem, 83
Epton, Bill, 25, 42, 61-62, 84-85, 88, 101, 103-104, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112
Evans and Novak, 95
Evanston, Ill., 97
Evers, Medgar, 163

"Face the Nation" program, 95
Fair Play for Cuba Committee, 96
FBI, 75, 77, 105, 134, 141-161
Fifth Avenue Peace Parade, 88
Focus Midwest, 53-54
Ford, James, 19
Forman, James, 94
Freedom Fighters of Ohio, 71, 119
Freedom March on Washington, 163

"Freedom Now," 74
Freedomways, 52
Free Speech Movement, 64
"Friends of SNCC," 96
Fruit of Islam (FOI), 56-57

Ghana, 81
Gilligan, Thomas R., 103, 108
Glenn, John, 129
Gray, Jesse, 105
Greenwood, Miss., 62
Guerrilla Warfare, 34-35

Harlem, 61, 63, 75, 81, 88, 91, 127
Harlem Defense Councils, 91, 107, 109
Harlem riots, 10, 24, 25, 37, 42, 101-113
Harris, John, 128
Haughton, James, 87
Haywood, Harry, 20-21
Hazard, Ky., 106
Hobson, Julius, 86
Ho Chi Minh Trail, 65
Hoffer, Eric, 56
Holly Springs, Miss., 95
Hoover, J. Edgar, 5, 18, 27, 69
Hough district (Cleveland), 71, 115, 117-122
House Committee on Un-American Activities, 5, 96, 105, 129
Howard, Charles P., Sr., 51

If I'm Elected, I Will . . ., 137
Indianapolis, 135, 137

Jackson, James, 19-20
Japan, 106
Japanese in America, 17, 66
Jenkins, Herbert, 97
Jerome, Alice, 111
JFK House, 25, 71, 119, 120, 121
Jim Crow, 22, 45, 109
Johnson, Charles "Mao," 80, 81
Johnson, Lyndon B., 5, 105, 128
Jonesboro, La., 86
Jones, Harliel, 119, 120
Jones, LeRoi, 49

Kennedy Administration, 164
King, Clifton, 110
King, Martin Luther, 48, 63, 67
Kottis, John, 136-137
Ku Klux Klan, 163

Lacey, James, 81
Lansing (Mich.) riot, 22, 24
Laski, Michael, 84
Lausche, Frank, 24
Leaks, Sylvester, 51
Legislative Commission to Preserve the Peace (Ala.), 63
Leibman, Morris L., 116
Lemansky, Ed, 96
Lewis, John, 95
Liberation, 74-75
Liberator, The, 43, 48-50, 93, 124-125
Life magazine, 26, 89, 128-129
Lincoln, Abraham (quoted), 129-130
Lincoln, C. Eric, 55, 57
Little Rock, Ark., 163
Long Island, 37, 107
Long March, The, 43, 50
Long, Worth, 48
Los Angeles, 22, 54, 71, 74, 122-129, 138
Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Committee, 135
Los Angeles City College, 84
Los Angeles *Herald Examiner*, 126
Los Angeles riot. *See* Watts "rebellion"
Louisiana, 86

L'Ouverture, Toussaint, 70
Lower East Side Club, 111
Lowndes County Freedom Organization, 63
Lucas, Ronald, 121
Luce, Phillip Abbott, 3-5
Lumumba, Patrice, 74
Lynch, Lincoln, 66

McAdoo, Bill, 45-46, 108, 110, 111, 127
McCarran Act, 133
McKissick, Floyd, 60, 65, 67
McMorris, S. Carter, 124-125

Mack, Daniel, 121
Malcolm X, 50, 54-55, 57, 58, 85, 86
Mallory, Mae, 87
Management Council for Merit Employment Training and Research, 135
Mao Tse-tung, 32, 43, 69, 77-78, 83, 85, 162-165
Markman, Marvin, 96
Marzani, Carl, 77
Mathieu, Jan, 136
Mau-Mau Maoist, 80
Medgar Evers Rifle Club, 71, 119
Medical Aid for Cuba Committee, 96
Meredith March, 60, 97
MFDP, 64
Miles, Frank, Jr., 63
Militant Labor Forum, 64
Militant, The, 63
Mississippi, 64, 86, 94, 95
Monroe, N.C., 73, 77, 78, 87, 162
Montgomery, Ruth, 96
Moore, Louise, 93
Morris, Phillip, 119
Moscow World Youth Forum, 95
Muhammad, Elijah, 51, 54, 55, 56, 66, 100
Muhammad, Herbert, 51
Muhammad Speaks, 50-52, 53
Murphy, Michael J., 104
Murphy, William S., 123

NAACP, 67, 73-74, 77, 85, 94, 162
Nationl Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 96
National Guardian, 96
National Youth Festival (Algiers), 64
Negroes with Guns, 77
New Century Publishing House, 96
"New Program of the CPUSA," 21
New South, 46
Newsweek, 86, 95
New York City, 22, 23, 26, 35, 37, 53, 69, 70, 74, 86, 87, 101-113, 138
New York Review of Books, 61
New York Times, 86
New York World-Telegram, 83
New Zealand, 106

Offitt, Howard, 136
Organization for Black Power, 30-31

Pan-Africanism, 32
Parker, William H., 126, 128
Patrick Henry Apartments, 137
Patterson, William L., 105
Peking, 73, 77
Peking Review, 80
Pepper, John, 18
Philadelphia, 22, 86, 93, 138
Playboy magazine, 54
Plot Against Black America, The, 43, 44
Political Affairs, 42, 44
Powell, Adam Clayton, 60
Powell, James, 103, 108

Prevention and Control of Mobs and Riots, 134, 141-161
Progressive Labor, 3, 4
Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), 3, 64, 106, 108
Progressive Labor Party (PLP), 9, 10, 21-22, 25, 37, 43, 45, 61, 63, 84-85, 88, 91, 101, 105-113, 126-128
Prosser, Gabriel, 70
Puerto Ricans, 17, 108, 111

"Radio Free Dixie," 76
Radio Havana, 76
RAM. *See* Revolutionary Action Movement
Razor, The, 83
Revolution, 81
Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), 13, 26, 27, 29, 32, 38, 61, 63, 69-82, 100, 119
Ricks, Willie, 62
Robinson, Beth, 119
Robinson, Lewis G., 71-72, 119, 120
Robinson, Reginald, 95
Rosen, Milt, 9, 110, 111
Rubin, Danny, 95
Rubin, Larry, 95, 96
Russell, Bertrand, 99
Rustin, Bayard, 49

San Francisco, 22, 71
Saturday Evening Post, 93, 107
Scheer, Mort, 110, 113
Screvane, Paul, 104
Selma, Ala., 97
Shretter, Steve, 121
Sims, Charles, 86
Smith, Lillian, 67
Smith, Roy, Jr., 135
SNCC. *See* Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Soblen, Robert A., 96
"Socialist Scholars Conference," 51
Socialist Worker's Party (SWP), 85
Soul Book, 43
Soviet Union, 105
Spark, 45-46, 126-127
Spartacists, 129
Stalin, 19, 21, 83
Stanford, Max, 13, 26-27, 61-62, 69, 70-72, 81
Stanley, Alonzo, 109
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 58, 60-64, 85, 91, 93-100
Subversive Activities Control Board, 122
Superior Avenue (Cleveland), 117, 118
Sutherland, Elizabeth, 96
Sweeney, Robert S., 98-99

Tanzania, 51
Tass, 114
Thomas, Earnest, 86
Thompson, Robert, 105
"Towards Revolutionary Action Manifesto," 69-70
"Tragic Myth of Black Power, The," 46
Tripp, Luke, 80, 81
True Believer, The, 56
Truth, Sojourner, 70
Turner, Nat, 70

UHURU, 64, 69, 80
United Nations rioting, 74, 87
Urban League, 85
U.S. Gypsum Company, 136
U.S. News and World Report, 97
U.S. Office of Education, 138
Uxbridge, Mass., 137

Vanguard, 83
Venezuela, 18, 34, 81
Vesey, Denmark, 70

Viet Cong, 66, 79
Vietnam war, 88, 99, 100, 106, 112, 127

Ware-Bey, Albert D., 119, 120
Washington, D.C., 22, 86, 98, 135
Watts Action Committee, 126
Watts, Dan, 48
Watts "rebellion," 24, 42, 48, 63, 84, 114, 122-129
W. E. B. Dubois Clubs, 64, 121, 122
"When a Black Man Stood Up," 50
Wilkins, Roy, 67, 94
Williams, Robert F., 27-29, 32, 37, 38, 52, 70, 71, 72-79, 81, 82, 87, 100, 106, 112, 162
Woll, J. Albert, 66
Worker, The, 19, 107
"Working Magnificents, The," 135

Yorty, Samuel W., 125-126, 127, 128
Young Socialist, 85-86
Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), 64, 85

Zanzibar, 81

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In June of 1964, just one month before the Harlem Riots shocked the American people into the realization that a racial civil war was possible in this country, Phillip Abbott Luce, the author of this book, met with four others in a secluded area of Central Park, New York City, to discuss the possibility of creating a guerrilla operation in the Negro ghettos. They were all Communists, members of the pro-Chinese Communist Progressive Labor Movement. Four of the five had been to Cuba the summer before. Later, all were briefed on individual responsibilities and each one armed with a pistol, having been told that groundwork had already been laid for the guerrilla operation.

In 1965, Phillip Abbott Luce left the world of Communism. He has since authored THE NEW LEFT and numerous articles which have appeared in THE READER'S DIGEST, THE SATURDAY EVENING POST, NATIONAL REVIEW and other publications. As a former member of a hard-core Communist organization, Mr. Luce's "behind the scenes" report in this, his latest book, has a vital and prophetic significance for all thinking Americans.